

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
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FOI/PA# 1249718-1

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April 1, 1954

Editor
The New York Times
New York City

Dear Sir:

The Times publishes today a letter from Earl Browder in behalf of Dr. Oppenheimer in which Browder states that he, Browder, has "long ceased to be a Communist".

I think that many readers would like to know to what extent Mr. Browder has cooperated with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in exposing the conspiracy with which he was for many years so prominently identified. It may be that he has joined with Louis Budenz, Whitaker Chambers, Miss Bentley and others to assist the Department of Justice in this vital matter. From reading his letter to the Times, however, one fails to sense any suggestion that he has adopted such a course.

Yours truly,

b6
b7C

Edward McKeehan
Teaneck, New Jersey

RECORDED-53
INDEXED-53

702

Mr. J. E. Hoover:

This copy is sent to you for the purpose of being sure that your attention has been called to Browder's letter. The writer regrets that this letter has been mailed to the Times not under his own name and address. There is sufficient reason, however, for my not doing so at this time.

James F. Kelly
366 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/4/81 BY

Best Copy Available

May 7, 1954

RECORDED-53

INDEXED-53

40-3797-702

67037

J. F. K. II,

Mr. James F. Kelly
366 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

G.I.R.-6

Dear Mr. Kelly:

Your note postmarked April 30, 1954, has been received, and I sincerely appreciate the interest which prompted you to make a copy of your letter to the Editor of "The New York Times" dated April 29, 1954, available to me.

Should you obtain any information in the future which you believe to be of interest to the FBI, please feel free to communicate with the representatives of our office located at 290 Broadway, New York 7, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc - New York, with copy of incoming.
ATTENTION SAC: Bufiles reflect no record identifiable with the correspondent.

CEP:nro

MAY 2

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: June 8, 1954

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/14/01 BY

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Boardman _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

0 [redacted] confidentially advised me that he accompanied Earl Browder to the Reader's Digest editorial offices at Pleasantville today where they had lunch. Present were DeWitt Wallace, Kenneth W. Payne, Max Eastman, Alfred S. Dashiell and Eugene Lyons. [redacted] stated that Browder went much further than he had gone to date and the following are the highlights which [redacted] gave me:

(1) Browder was given a free hand to run the American Communist Party during the war years because the Russians were so busy with the problem of Hitler. Had they not been otherwise occupied, he would not have had a free hand. He received some Russian money; however, he sent money collected from Communist sources both to Russia and Europe.

(2) Browder was certain that he was always under the supervision of Russian Agents who never attacked him directly or called him on the carpet, but he believes they work through William S. Foster.

(3) Browder is still a pure Marxist at heart. The Communist Party in Russia as in the United States has completely deserted from attendance of Marxism and can never return to Marxism. Had Browder not been expelled, he would have broken with the Party as he saw the handwriting on the wall. Had he had the heart he believes he could have put up a fight and maintained control of the U. S. Communist Party.

(4) The Communist Party today in the United States has generated into a "bunch of bums." People of competence have left the Party.

(5) Eugene Lyons is very antagonistic to Browder and on the way back to New York Browder stated that the reason for this was his answers did not suit Lyons.

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:ptm

RECORDED-85 40-3798-703
INDEXED-85

EX - 107

Tully

5. nkr

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

(6) Browder became a Communist because of the experience of his father. His father at one time was a school teacher, respected and of moderate circumstances. The father became interested in the Populace Movement which was unpopular and found as a result of his Populace sympathies that he was reduced to a common laborer. This had a profound effect on Browder and was the fundamental for his later joining the Communist Party.

(7) In the early days Browder was an ardent AF of L Trade Union man. He went into the Socialist Party for a while; however, this did not appeal to him. He worked in labor circles and then went with the Communist Party.

(8) Browder was asked about his activities in China. He said he was working as a ~~Russian Agent for the Third International~~ and not for the American Communist Party. He regarded himself as a leader on the Third International. He has never met Stalin. He dealt with Maniliuski (spelling phonetic) and Georgi Di mitrov. Maniliuski, according to Browder, was in charge of the American Communist Party for the Third International.

(9) He talked several times about his independence in operating the American Communist Party, but he was independent only by virtue of the fact that the Russians were preoccupied and had no time for him.

(10) He is not an expert on current matters pertaining to the Party, but if he wrote a book or articles, he would withhold nothing.

(11) He takes great pride in talking about the league against war and Fascism. This league could not have succeeded had the Government given it any opposition. On the other hand, the league was welcomed by the Government. He further got into a discussion on semantics and stated that infiltration was not the proper word to use; that the proper word was invitation.

(12) He denied any contact with espionage agents; that knowledge of underground and espionage agents was kept from him and the U. S. Communist Party.

(13) When he was asked if he knew Jacob Lewis, George Mink and others who have been identified as espionage agents. He admitted that he knew them all, but that his function was to run an open Communist Party. He did not know who ran the Communist Party underground. Lyons tried to prove that Browder did know the whole story and Browder took violent exception with what Lyons said, but on the other hand treated both Max Eastman and Lyons, who had former Communist backgrounds, with great cordiality and his attitude was that everyone was his friend.

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

(14) He talked about his opposition to Stalin and the growing opposition that began to creep up against him near the end of Stalin's career by Tito, Ana Pauker, the new deposed Roumanian female Communist leader, Georgi Dimitrov and others. This opposition came about from Stalin's gradual switching from the concept of an International Communist Party to a highly Nationalistic Russian Communist Party. The greatest resistance to this transformation according to Browder came from the Chinese, ^{and} Browder and surprisingly enough, the least resistance came from Tito. Tito was the last person whom Browder expected to switch from Stalinism. Tito is an enemy of Browder and vice versa.

The Reader's Digest is contemplating having Browder prepare a series of articles on specific subjects to test him out. The Digest is being rather cagey, according to [redacted], before committing itself and it is contemplated that two or three subjects will be assigned to Browder on which there is known information and Browder will then be asked to discuss the subjects to see how far he will go. In this connection, when I had breakfast with DeWitt Wallace in Washington recently, he brought up the question of Browder. I told Wallace in confidence that we were getting pretty disgusted with Browder; that to date Browder had not furnished us with any significant information and we could not reconcile ourselves to Browder having made a full and complete transformation without making a clean breast of his own activities and that if Browder had nothing to do with espionage then there was no reason for him to fear making a full disclosure. If, on the other hand, he was involved in espionage during the War years, the statute of limitations would not have run. I told Wallace it was, of course, up to him to deal with Browder any way he felt he wanted to, but it seemed to me that before Reader's Digest becomes too completely involved with Browder that he should have an understanding with Browder that information should be made available to official sources. Wallace stated he would keep this in mind. b7D

J. Jones *W. W.*

7-43

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. B. NICHOLS ^{LBH}

DATE: 6-16-54

FROM : QUINN-TAMM ^{over} ^{2/p} ^{D 5 Pers}

SUBJECT: Irene Browder, wa.
SM-C; Perjury
Earl Russell Browder
IS - C; Perjury
40-3798

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/4/01 BY

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Holloman _____
Sizoo _____
Miss Gandy _____

There is attached the file which has been maintained in the Laboratory in connection with the above-captioned matter. It is desired that this file be maintained as an enclosure behind the main file in the Records Section.

Attachment

F/1230

54 JUN 22 1954
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40-3798-708
NOT RECORDED
10 JUN 18 1954

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓ 10 2

DATE: July 20, 1954

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/27/80 BY [redacted]

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[redacted] advised me on the late afternoon of July 20th on a very confidential basis that Earl Browder has now agreed to appear before the Jenner Committee and testify as to the extent of Communist penetration in the government, without mentioning names. His position will be that it was not a question of Communist infiltration into the government, but the Communists were invited to come into the government. He will testify, for example, that there were so many Communists in OSS that he, Browder, made a protest. He will further testify to Communist infiltration into labor unions and will mention labor unions by name. In reconstructing the times, he will testify that in one of the Dewey campaigns Browder was asked to supply organizers and will use this to illustrate how valuable the Communists were regarded at that time. He will further testify as to what happened when he was expelled from the Party and the details of his trip to the Soviet Union and the deal he had on the book after he was expelled from the Party. Browder professes to know nothing of present day Communist activities and he will be asked no questions on this.

[redacted] asked Browder why he did not go to the FBI. Browder stated the FBI had contacted him on numerous occasions but that the FBI was a branch of the Department of Justice and that unfortunately the Department of Justice had not seen fit to deal with him on an advisory level but had seen fit to indict him on a policy level and that he is forced to the conclusion that it is the top policy of the Department of Justice to prosecute him and the FBI being a part of the Department would be bound by this policy. [redacted] stated he told Browder he did not agree with the Department of Justice policy and [redacted] stated he had previously expressed himself to the Department. He further felt it was most inopportune to be prosecuting Browder when his wife was near the point of death.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:MP

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Morris further stated he still feels that in due time Browder will come to the point where he will make a full disclosure. Morris stated the Browder decision to testify was arrived at after he, Morris, had talked to John Rogge and told Rogge that if Browder would appear in the role of an Anti-Communist this should help him. Rogge agreed and put considerable pressure on Browder. Browder stated, of course, he would not mention names at this time.

Morris stated they would call Browder on July 29th or August 3rd.

✓

We should keep an eye on the case & Browder & if we are called upon to make any further investigations do so promptly & vigorously. Browder is a double talker & a "Gastor means" con man.

✓

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

July 26, 1954

Director, FBI

RECEIVED 30
30
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
FBI File 40-3798 - 705

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/4/01 BY [redacted]

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EX - 113

As the Department is aware Browder is presently awaiting trial in the Southern District of New York on a charge of violation of Title 18, Section 1015 (A) United States Code.

The Bureau has been confidentially advised that Browder is scheduled to testify before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate (Jenner Committee) on either July 29, 1954, or August 3, 1954.

TDR:mam
Mam

MAILED 7

JUL 27 1954

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 8/25/54

FROM : *WLB* SAC, ALBANY (100-2569)

G. I. R. -9

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS - RRebulet to WFO, June 8, 1953 captioned HOUSE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

The captioned individual was identified by JOSEPH KLEIN, self-admitted Communist Party functionary from 1932 to 1938 during his testimony in Executive Session before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Kansas City, Mo. on April 6, 1954. This testimony given by KLEIN was read into the record at the HCUA hearing April 8, 1954 in open session at Albany, N. Y. as a Communist Party leader who was at the General Electric Company, charged with the responsibility of organizing Communist Party activity in infiltrating the General Electric Company.

Inasmuch as this individual does not reside in this division, no action is recommended.

A copy of this letter is being designated to the N. Y. office for their information and for whatever action they deem desirable.

ICC:HDE

cc: New York

cc: AL 100-14051

REGISTERED MAIL.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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EX-121

TO AUG 26 1954

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Best Copy Available

Mr. T
Mr. B. J. J. J.
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

8/20/54, NY, NY

BUREAU.....URGENT

NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER, WAS, ET AL; ESPIONAGE DASH R. BUFILE

REBUTEL AUG. NINETEEN LAST.

INFO REQUESTED IN RETEL CONCERNING FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS IS AS FOLLOWS:

ABRAHAM GEORGE SILVERMAN, RESIDENCE [REDACTED] NY b6 b7C

UNEMPLOYED. NO ADDITIONAL INFO RE PHYSICAL AND FINANCIAL CONDITION OR DEGREE OF COOPERATIVENESS BEYOND THAT PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED TO BUREAU.

EARL BROWDER, RESIDENCE SEVEN HIGHLAND PL., YONKERS, NY, SELF-EMPLOYED AS WRITER AT RESIDENCE. NO ADDITIONAL INFO RE PHYSICAL AND FINANCIAL CONDITION BEYOND THAT PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED TO BUREAU. INS IN REPORT RE WILLIAM LANCELOT HOLLAND RECEIVED NYO MAR. TWENTYFOUR LAST REFLECTS INFO FROM COLUMNIST [REDACTED] THAT HE IS ATTEMPTING TO SECURE b7D

COOPERATION OF BROWDER, PHILIP JAFFE AND HARRISON GEORGE. BROWDER AND JAFFE WERE COOPERATING ON LIMITED SCALE BUT NONE OF THE THREE WOULD COOPERATE FULLY UNLESS AMUNITY LAW IS PASSED BECAUSE OF THEIR HAVING COMMITTED CRIMES ON WHICH STATUTE OF LIMITATION DOES NOT APPLY.

ALEXANDER KORAL RESIDES [REDACTED] NY, EMPLOYED AT FELHEIMER AND WAGNER, ONE FIVE FIVE E. FORTYSECOND ST., NYC.

1 - BUFILE 100-95971 (REGULAR MAIL)
40-3798 (REGULAR MAIL)
100-355779 (REGULAR MAIL)
100-11820 (REGULAR MAIL)
100-363704 (REGULAR MAIL)
100-364246 (REGULAR MAIL)
1 - NY
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40-3798-
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NY [REDACTED]

PAGE TWO

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NO FURTHER INFO RE PHYSICAL OR FINANCIAL CONDITION OR DEGREE OF COOPERATIVENESS BEYOND THAT PREVIOUSLY REPORTED TO BUREAU. LEE PRESSMAN RESIDES [REDACTED] NY, SELF-EMPLOYED AS LAWYER, TWO TWO FIVE BROADWAY, NYC. ALSO ACTIVE IN MANAGEMENT OF BARNES STEEL AND TUBE CO., KEARNEY, NJ. NO ADDITIONAL INFO RE PHYSICAL OR FINANCIAL CONDITION OR DEGREE OF COOPERATIVENESS BEYOND THAT PREVIOUSLY REPORTED TO BUREAU. EDWARD JOSEPH FITZGERALD RESIDES [REDACTED], NYC. EMPLOYED AS OF APR. TWENTYONE LAST BY LINCOLN LETTER SERVICE, FOURTEEN GRAND ST., NYC. NO INFO TO INDICATE PHYSICAL DISABILITY. RECENT FINANCIAL STATUS POOR, ACCORDING TO EX-WIFE. DECLINED INTERVIEW WHEN CONTACTED BY BUREAU AGENT JULY EIGHT LAST. HARRY MAGDOFF RESIDES [REDACTED] [REDACTED] FLUSHING, NY. SELF-EMPLOYED AS ECONOMIC CONSULTANT AT BASEMENT OF THREE FOUR NAUGHT E. THIRTEEN ST., NYC. ON MAY ONE FIFTYTHREE APPEARED BEFORE JENNER COMMITTEE, AT WHICH TIME DECLINED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS CONCERNING BENTLEY'S ALLEGATIONS ON BASIS OF SELF-INCRIMINATION. ACCORDING TO DOCTOR WAS UNABLE TO REAPPEAR BEFORE COMMITTEE MAY TWENTYEIGHT FIFTYTHREE DUE TO HEART CONDITION. PRIOR TO SCHEDULED APPEARANCE WAS QUESTIONED BY COUNSEL MORRIS, AT WHICH TIME ATTITUDE UNCHANGED.

b6
b7C

KELLY

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER

DATE: Sept. 21, 1954

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harbo	
Mohr	
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Tele. Room	
Holloman	
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With reference to Mr. Belmont's memorandum of September 8, 1954, suggesting that the questions and answers prepared by Earl Browder, which were confidentially given me by [redacted] be furnished orally to the Department, I wish to advise that I talked with [redacted] today and pointed out that since the possibility existed that sooner or later Browder might be called before a Grand Jury, I wondered if he would have any objection if we confidentially advised the Department of the general line which Browder has taken in the tentative questions and answers which have been worked out for Browder's use when he appeared before the Senate Rules Committee.

[redacted] stated that Browder has now completely repudiated the original draft of the answers and [redacted] had had several talks with Browder and has told Browder that he was most unfair with him, [redacted] that the answers to the questions were outright Communist propaganda; that he, [redacted] would not be a party to giving Browder such a forum. Browder has agreed to this and is now trying to work out a different set of answers. [redacted] stated that under these conditions he felt that it would be most inappropriate for the Bureau to disseminate the information to the Department and we should maintain it in confidence.

I told him that under these conditions, of course, we would be glad to respect his confidence. [redacted] further stated that he gets very discouraged with Browder, but still has hopes that he will come through. He observed that only yesterday Philip Jaffe had a long talk with him at which time he admitted knowing and associating with Frank Coe and Solomon Adler, which admissions he had not heretofore made. He thinks that sooner or later Jaffe will open up and tell all that he knows.

[redacted] further stated in confidence that he has his fingers crossed on the Department since he has recently heard the Department was calling [redacted] before a Grand Jury to question him as to how he [redacted] I told [redacted] I had not heard of this.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:ptm

ALL INFO
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/4/01 BY [redacted]

RECORDED - 6

INDEXED - 6

EX - 113

29 SEP 30 1954

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

FROM : R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: September 10,
1954

12-14-01
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The following information was furnished to Agent Papich
on September 8, 1954, by [redacted] (S) (U)

Judge Robert Morris, formerly connected with the Senate
Internal Security Subcommittee, has been soliciting the assistance
of [redacted] in an effort to convince Earl Browder to publicly
tell everything he knows concerning the Communist Party, USA.
George Sokolsky, well-known newspaper columnist, allegedly has been
collaborating with Morris. Both Morris and Sokolsky have been of
the opinion that [redacted] is a logical person to convince Browder
that he should be completely cooperative. According to the source,
there is a tentative plan for Judge Morris and [redacted] to meet with
Browder within the next two or three weeks. This meeting may take
place in the apartment of [redacted]

The source does not believe that Sokolsky will be present
because of some disagreement which has taken place between Sokolsky
and Judge Morris. It is possible that a difference has arisen because
of Judge Morris' criticism of Senator Joseph McCarthy. (S) (U)

The above information was furnished to [redacted]
by [redacted] This data was furnished in strict confidence b7D
and should not be disseminated outside the Bureau. (S) (U)

ACTION:

For information.

SJP:saw
1 - Mr. Baken

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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SEP 30 1954

EX. - 113

~~SECRET~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. BOARDMAN

DATE: September 8, 1954

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(Bureau file 40-3798)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12/4/01 BY

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Gandy	_____

Mr. Nichols' memorandum of August 30, 1954, reflects a series of tentative questions propounded to Earl Browder, together with Browder's answers, in connection with the possible use of Browder as a witness before a Congressional Committee. Bearing in mind that the Department of Justice has stated it intends to have Browder subpoenaed before a Federal Grand Jury in the near future, probably in Camden, New Jersey, in connection with the Silvermaster case, it is of interest to analyze Browder's answers to these questions. It is also of interest to the FBI in view of our stand that Browder should receive no consideration unless and until he sits down with FBI Agents and completely tells his story with no reservations.

I asked Inspector W. C. Sullivan to give me his comments which are as follows:

"On analyzing this testimony of Earl Browder, there appears to be no need for presenting any detailed review because Browder says nothing which adds to our knowledge of him and his views. He is still the same old Browder - no important changes are discernable, either in his thinking or his manner. His ideology remains essentially the same as it has been for some years.

"To support this conclusion, consider the following:

1. Browder says that American Communists never did engage in 'infiltration;' they were simply accepted by the American people during the progressive thirties on the basis of their 'individual merits.'
2. Browder says that under him the Communist Party membership was 'educated in the spirit of democracy and the American tradition' and all the Party's work was 'permeated with this spirit.'
3. Browder says that under him the Party was not dominated by Moscow; that it made independent decisions.

RECORDED

EX - 113

AHB:tlc

CC - Mr. Nichols

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BOARDMAN

- "4. Browder says that under him the Party proceeded legally; that it was not subversive.
5. Browder says that today the Communists are being 'hunted down like stray rabbits.'
6. Browder as usual is hostile toward the FBI and shows no inclination to cooperate.

"In this testimony Browder reveals himself to be a clear-cut liar. He simply must know that what he says is not the truth.

"There is then no reason to believe from this testimony that Earl Browder has changed. He makes some interesting observations and shows some shrewd insights into Communist appeals and tactics but at heart he seems to be a Party-less Communist who has tasted of too many sour grapes."

The Internal Security Section of this Division also analyzed Browder's answers. Their analysis reflects that throughout this outline Browder has defended the aims and purposes of the Communist Party during his period of membership and leadership therein (1920 to February 1946). He claims that the Communist Party was no more than just an American political party advocating Communism by peaceful means. He claims that at all times the Party was working for the best interests of the American people and was not controlled by Moscow and received no financial assistance from the Russians.

Browder states that the successes of the Communist Party in the 1930s and until 1945 were in no way the successes of subversion or of anti-American doctrines, adding "This period of Communist Party history is the best possible example of the victory of the best American democratic traditions extended into and taking a dominating position in all the work of the Communist Party itself."

Browder feels that the Communist Party today has no mass political influence. He feels that what remnants of its former influence it still retains are largely due to the persecutions inflicted upon it by the Government "based on unsound and dangerous legal theories, which has thrown on their side the instinctive American sympathy for the underdog, for minorities which are unjustly and irrationally persecuted."

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BOARDMAN

Browder stated that he had not conferred with the FBI because he had no knowledge that could be of legitimate interest to that organization. He claims that his operations as a political leader were open and above board, known to everyone who wanted to know them. Browder says he distrusts the political judgment of the FBI regarding Communism because we had Agents within the Party during his leadership attempting to incite Communists into illegal activities; that FBI Agents initiated the movement within the Party to overthrow Browder; that every FBI Agent working within the Communist Party joined wholeheartedly in the movement to repudiate and oust Browder and won high positions in the Party by this means. He names Herbert Filbrick as an example and says he can hardly be expected to be an admirer of the FBI in the field of handling the Communists.

An analysis of the answers submitted by Browder to the questions reflects that Browder is not prepared to furnish accurate information and it appears that he is still in sympathy with the Communist movement.

I am in thorough agreement with both Mr. Sullivan and the Internal Security Section. I think that Browder in his answers has made shrewd, misleading statements calculated to explain away his role as a Communist leader. Browder is still a Communist and a destructive force. His explanations, if published, would be accepted by the gullible and those who are seeking to excuse Communism. Thus, the publishing of Browder's statements would be harmful to the public good, unless the inaccuracies in his statements are clearly set forth at the same time.

RECOMMENDATION:

It would be desirable to point out to the Department that Browder apparently does not intend to deal honestly with the Government. Mr. Nichols has advised that the questions and answers analyzed above were received in confidence. It is suggested that if it can be done without violating a confidence, the Department be put on notice orally, as I would hate to see Browder advance his cause by selling a bill of goods to a grand jury.

*measured
Mr. Sullivan
9-21-54
LBN*

9-9-54

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: August 30, 1954

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

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[redacted] has furnished me on a strictly personal and confidential basis a series of tentative questions which were propounded to Earl Browder, together with Earl Browder's answers. [redacted] did not particularly like Browder's answers, and there was some question in his mind as to whether they should put Browder on as a witness, particularly since John Rogge had stipulated in the first instance that there would be no cross-examination of Browder. This [redacted] was unwilling to agree to, although Rogge has since agreed that Browder could be cross-examined.

There is no prospect for an immediate hearing inasmuch as Senator Jenner is out of town, and [redacted] does have his fingers crossed on the use of Browder. I certainly can't blame him, and it seems to me if the committee ever does call Browder, they should go down the line with him.

cc: Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

LBN:arm

RECORDED - 6

INDEXED - 6

EX - 113.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/4/01 BY [redacted]

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P.S. The 9 questions were volunteered & his
my question began at p. 3.

OUTLINE OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(After preliminaries, identification, etc.)

Q: Have you any suggestions to make regarding the Rules governing Congressional investigating committees with a view to rendering their work more effective?

A: Yes, my observations of such Committee work leads me to believe that the demand for a new code of rules arises from the growing practice of turning the Committees into something resembling roving grand juries, who measure results by the number of witnesses who can be jailed for perjury or contempt or other charges, or who can be pilloried before public opinion as "suspicious persons with something to hide" when they take refuge in their Fifth Amendment rights--in short, turning the Committees into means of punishing individuals. It does not save the situation that only a few Committees act in this fashion, for their example dominates the public mind and creates the atmosphere under which all must operate. Inevitably such grand jury functions, when carried on under the broad and undefined powers of "Congressional Investigation," bring a train of abuses and injustices, and a demand for Rules that would give witnesses some protection approximating what they would receive from normal grand jury investigations. That is, in my opinion, the hub of your immediate problem. Behind this is a broader, more general, and certainly much more important problem, of preserving and developing the normal and legitimate function of Congressional Investigation, surrounding it with dignity and honor, so that prospective witnesses will not approach the Congressional tribune in fear and trembling, as now is usually the case, even with the most conservative and respectable citizens. Only when these problems are faced frankly and solved can Congressional Committees become again, what they were originally intended to be, a forum for concentrating the minds of men, in and out of government, on the solution of the problems of the day on the high level of statesman not the level of a police state.

Q: Would you care to cite briefly some specific example of abuse of the Congressional power, from which you draw these conclusions?

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A: My own experience provides me with clear examples. In 1950 I was subpoenaed before a Senate Committee, known as the Tydings Committee. I appeared and answered questions freely, more than 300 of them, in an honest effort to help clarify some national problems there involved. A large number of those questions were irrelevant, but I answered them anyway, including all the so-called "64 dollar questions." But with one Senator I had a little difficulty, since it seemed he was embarking upon a fishing expedition, and I refused to answer some 17 of his questions on that ground. Nevertheless, at the conclusion of the session I was thanked by the Chairman for my cooperation. Only some three months later, I was informed to my astonishment that the entire Committee had voted to cite me for contempt, and I was indicted and put to trial a year later. My trial judge dismissed the government's case against me, upholding my view that I was lawfully resisting a fishing expedition when I drew the line against answering some questions. But not only myself, but my family as well, had been irreparably damaged by the citation, indictment, and trial. It appears that not one of the Senators who voted that citation actually believed that I was guilty of contempt, not even the Senator who publicly demanded the citation on the floor of the Senate. This punishment was dealt me, despite the fact that among all the witnesses who appeared before that Committee, I alone provided it with substantial testimony concerning the great issue of public policy which was in controversy, namely, the origin of the American Government's attitude toward China during the war, which information some Senators complained they were unable to obtain from the [REDACTED] b3

I am, together with my wife, under a perjury indictment today, which I have grounds to believe was brought not on the merits of the charges, but as a measure of blackmail to coerce me to give a particular sort of testimony before Congressional Committees. This is the sort of thing that is corrupting and degrading Congressional investigations, rendering prospective witnesses afraid to cooperate, and making it difficult if not impossible to hold serious investigations on a high level. Among the immediate practical remedies, from the Rules viewpoint, (1) Committees should be forbidden to make

contempt citations in the absence of a witness and without permitting him reasonable time for legal consultations; (2) that the Chairman of the Committee making a contempt citation should be required to respond to a defense subpoena, if he does not appear as a government witness, on the principle that the accuser must face the accused in open court; (3) that persons found to have been unjustly accused and put to substantial hardship and damage should be entitled to recover indemnity. The broader side of the problem is perhaps not susceptible to remedy by new Rules.

Q: You are known to most people, Mr. Browder, as a leader of the Communist Party. Would you tell us for how long you were a member of the Communist Party?

A: I have no objection to such questions in the context and framework of this Committee's work. I was a member of the Communist Party from late 1920 until February, 1946, when I was expelled, after having been removed from leadership in July, 1945.

Q: What positions did you hold in the Communist Party?

A: I was a member of its national committee from 1922 until July, 1945; administrative secretary from 1930 until 1934; general secretary and chief spokesman from 1934 until 1944; president of the Communist Political Association which replaced the C. P. in 1944 until it was changed back to Communist Party in July 1945, and I was removed from leadership. I was the Communist candidate for President of the U. S. in 1936 and 1940.

Q: Why did you leave the Communist Party?

A: I was kicked out of the Communist Party rather unceremoniously. If you want my explanation of the reason for this event, it can be boiled down to a few brief points. (1) The international leadership of the Communists (which means primarily the few top Russian leaders) had tolerated and even approved my policies as leader of the American C. P., directed toward an American-Russian rapprochement internationally, and integration with the organized labor movement and progressive political circles domestically, so long as they were under the pressure of Japan and Hitler Germany, because my policy brought results which strengthened their position; but when Hitler's

armies began to crumble in the fall and winter of 1944, they began realigning themselves for a post-war period of Russian-American antagonism. They suddenly found my widely-publicized views of the necessity of post-war collaboration, or at least a modus vivendi between the two great powers too popular for their purposes, not only in America but especially in Europe and Asia, and decided to kill it off without delay or ceremony. Therefore the intervention of Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, since there was no leader or group in the American Party strong enough independently to challenge my authority. My removal was the first overt step in preparation for the cold war. Since I refused to approve of it, I had to be politically destroyed. (2) Among the national leaders of the Communist movement I had been perhaps the most active in pushing the decentralization trend in the international, and insisting upon the necessity of adjustment to national peculiarities and differences, insofar as open propagation of these views were concerned; the Chinese leaders went farther than I in actual practice, but were able to resist an intervention similar to that in America by coming to power in China, and by readjusting themselves to a formal orthodoxy thereafter. Therefore I was looked upon as an expression of "nationalist deviation," against which a general purge was undertaken in East and Central European parties during the next four years. (3) Finally, the Russians looked with disfavor upon the existence of any national movement not operating upon their model; they probably foresaw that their intervention in the American C. P. would kill it as the leader of a mass movement in this country, but preferred this result rather than see a successful movement not directly under their tutelage.

For all these reasons the Russian Communist leadership considered the American Communist movement was "expendable," and did not hesitate to kill it from within. They preferred to manipulate its ghost, ~~him~~ to bedevil American domestic politics with unlimited fights about the "spectre of Communism," for which purpose a spectre without any real body, which nobody can put his finger on and therefore everybody can be afraid of, is much more effective.

asked him if there

I refused to be a party to this whole development in 1943, and ever since, which is the reason I have long ceased to call myself a Communist, from the time the new post-war policies became so firmly fixed as to be practically irreversible. post-war policies became so firmly fixed as to be practically irreversible., from which

Q: Explain fully the position you held for the Soviet Union after your dismissal from the Communist Party?

A: In April, 1946, I applied for a U. S. passport for the purpose of visiting Moscow and a few intermediate points in Europe. I received the passport, whereupon I presented myself at the Soviet Consulate in New York and applied for a visa, which I soon received. I then took a plane for Moscow, via Stockholm. My purpose was to discover, if possible, whether the new trends disclosed by my ejection from the CP were of a long or short term duration, whether they were strong and practically permanent, or temporary, adventitious, and perhaps even accidental. There was then conflicting evidence on this point; The American CP denounced my trip as a "war provocation," in a published statement, and warned the Soviet Union not to admit me because I was conspiring with the imperialists to overthrow it. On the other hand, the Soviet government itself issued me a visa, which is not usually given to its enemies. Arriving in Moscow I was met with all outward signs of courtesy and respect, as an old and trusted friend, but unlike all my visits in past years, found no one with whom I could seriously discuss problems. Foreign Minister Molotov was in Paris attending one of the protracted meetings of the Big Four, and everything seemed in suspense, even conversation, until his return, which was on May 19. On May 20, I was invited to meet Molotov at the Foreign Office, at 10 P.M. I found him friendly and willing to listen to me at length. I told him I had taken the decision on dissolution of the Comintern (1943) at its face value, and asked him if there was a possibility that the Comintern might be revived. Molotov answered unequivocally that the Comintern would not be revived. I observed that, in that case, there would be no point in my discussing with him the situation in the American C. P., from which I had recently been expelled, except to state my firm opinion that its new policies

would drive the labor and progressive movements into hostility to it, that this would disorganize and weaken public sentiment hitherto strongly in favor of American-Russian friendship, and that the American CP had become thereby an obstacle to peaceful co-existence of the two main social-economic systems. The CP, under its new policies, would soon become negligible as a political influence, however, and it was still possible, with men of good will working on both sides to that purpose, to halt the deterioration of American-Russian relations. I gave a detailed elaboration of this thesis. Molotov listened to me, and asked questions, for over two hours and a half, without expressing his own views. In conclusion he said he found my views most interesting, that he personally thanked me for visiting Moscow, and asked me what I planned for my own activity in my new situation. I answered that I had no plans, except that I intended to speak publicly whenever possible for American-Russian friendship and collaboration, which meant I could have no relation with the new C.P. which declared this impossible. Molotov then said it had been suggested that, if this was acceptable to me, I should become the American representative of Soviet Publishing Houses to arrange the publication of Soviet books by established publishing houses in America. I answered that I would accept such an offer, and this concluded our conversation. A few days later I was invited to visit American Ambassador Walter Bedell Smith, and spent some two hours with him discussing American-Russian relations.

I accepted the proposal to represent Soviet publishers in their relations with American publishers, because I considered the offer itself as evidence that the Soviet leaders were not firmly set in a hostile attitude toward America, and this would enable me to make some little contribution toward mutual understanding. I maintained this representation for two and a half years, but it was not successful. The steady worsening of relations between the two countries made the American market very cold toward Soviet books, and my business was very small. My own disapproval of developments in Soviet internal and foreign policy grew ever stronger. By 1949 it became clear that my role had lost all practical and political significance, and I took the initiative to

cancel my last relation with the Soviet Union. The practical consequences of my book business was confined to securing the publication of half a dozen Soviet Union books in America, mostly scientific and technical works.

Q: When you left the Communist Party what was its strength; (a) generally, (b) in trade unions; (c) in cultural and intellectual circles, (d) in government?

A: The answer to such questions is not simple. There were never more than 100,000 Party members at a given time, although perhaps over the years seven or eight times as many had passed in and out of the Party. But if Party influence over masses of people is to be measured, one must first ask what was the Party purpose. For example, one purpose of the Party was to make new Communists; in this field the Party strength was not great, nor was it ever great in any other purpose peculiar to the Party itself and not shared by many other organizations. But in those fields where the Party shared the purposes and aims of other circles, such as the labor movement, the movement for equal citizenship for Negroes, and the whole gamut of progressive social and legislative aims, then the Party influence grew very broad indeed. Especially when Hitler's rise to power in Germany threatened a world blackout of democracy and a new world war, the mass fear of Hitlerism among the American people made a very fertile field in which the Communists exerted influence far beyond their numbers, perhaps in a ratio of 50 to 1, simply because the Communists tried to organize that sentiment, while no other group gave much attention to this field. By a system of collaboration with non-Communists in ever widening circles, the Communists could influence to some degree even a majority of the nation, notably in making America consciously anti-Hitler and thus preparing the eventual alignment in the Second World War. In the labor movement a relatively small wing under the direct influence of the Party, by making a system of alliances with centrist groups that led the majority, exercised a limited but effective influence over the whole body, reducing the militant anti-Communist influence to a decided minority position. In cultural and intellectual circles the Party was able to set the dominant trend of thought on current world issues, in the direction of an American-Russian alliance,

and for a broad democratic front that included the Communists. In many governmental circles, though by no means all, there was a strong reflection of this influence, and there grew up a general atmosphere, a climate of public opinion, which accepted the collaboration of Communists in public life as a commonplace, something to be taken for granted. Up to 1945 the Communists had gone a long way on the road to acceptance as an established party in public life, if still a minor one. Political candidates of the major parties, gladly accepted and sometimes solicited Communist support, especially in close, hard-fought and crucial elections. Generally the Party support went to the Democratic Party because of the Roosevelt New Deal, but sometimes it went to Republican. Thus in 1937, when Thomas E. Dewey first ran for public office, his organization solicited the support of the Communists. We gave that support through a committee of trade unionists headed by the nationally-known Communist, Louis Weinstock. When Dewey was elected that committee held a public victory banquet, where Dewey attended and was photographed arm-in-arm with the toastmaster, Weinstock. We Communists of that day considered ourselves well rewarded for our effort in Dewey's behalf, because as District Attorney he broke up some well-entrenched labor racketeer gangs, thus enabling the Communists and their close allies to come to power in two highly important New York unions for the next eight years.

It was this climate of public opinion, which accepted the Communist participation in public life as a natural part of the democratic process, that was the best measure of the Communist influence far beyond their numbers. It was reflected again during the first year of the war, when President Roosevelt, acting on the advice of Mayor LaGuardia of New York, and Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, ordered the release of myself from prison on the expressed ground that his action would help consolidate American national unity.

Q: Why was it that the Communists were so successful in infiltrating the United States Government and the intellectual levels in the United States?

A: I cannot accept the word "infiltration" as properly describing the way the Communist Party, under my leadership from 1930 to 1945, extended its influence, whether

in labor, in intellectual circles, in politics or in government. Where Communists were called into any field of work it was on the basis of their individual merits, their ability to solve problems that others could not, or not so quickly and thoroughly. "Infiltration" is a military term, meaning secret penetration of the enemy's lines in order to disrupt them. But it cannot be called "infiltration" when in 1934 the American Federation of Labor, acting through John P. Frey, its leading anti-Communist, invited the Communists back into its ranks, from which they had previously been expelled; the A. F. of L. knew exactly who it was inviting in, and it was for the reason that both sides had a common interest in doing a common job. When the Congress of Industrial Organizations was formed, a few years later, it was under non-Communist leadership, but this organization too invited the Communists into its ranks, knowing exactly who they were, and wanting them because it knew they could do a job for them nobody else could do. With regard to the government, the Communist Party was extremely reluctant to have its members in government service, because non-governmental fields were the source of our influence even on the government, and we wanted all our more talented forces in the freer and richer field of work. It could not be called "infiltration" when during the war, the O.S.S. especially recruited Communists, because they were Communists, for the most dangerous of tasks, to parachute behind the lines in Germany and Italy, to arouse the resistance movement of the local population and to organize and arm it. It was not "infiltration" when General Douglas MacArthur sent American Communists into the Philippine Islands, under Japanese occupation, with the specific task to organize and arm the Hukbalahaps. It was not "infiltration" when 13,000 American Communists were drafted into the Army and fought with distinction, and by their exemplary conduct convinced the Army High Command to cancel its former rule against commissioning any Communist as an officer. As for "infiltrating" the intellectual circles, the best example of that was the League of American Writers. Look at its Second Congress in 1937, which opened with a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall in New York, with the featured speakers being Ernest Hemingway, the novelist, Archibald

Macleish, poet and Librarian of Congress, and Earl Browder, the general secretary of the Communist Party. If that is infiltration, it is the most peculiar kind known in history. The writers demanded that Earl Browder address the opening of their Congress, precisely because he was the head of the Communist Party and they approved of the work he was doing. That was open and public collaboration for common ends, which is the general feature of the Communist relationship with the Roosevelt administration, except for those shorter periods when we were temporarily in opposition to it and without influence in it.

If you ask me why the Communists were so successful in establishing cooperative relations among all these circles, how in those days could Communists be invited and welcomed everywhere so that even the American Bar Association officially invited me to take part in a nation-wide radio program organized by it to discuss the statutes of the United Nations before they were adopted, whereas today, in sharp contrast, stray Communists are being hunted down like rabbits, while being described as ravenous tigers--then I must deepen my explanation of that former period.

Two important prerequisites that made possible the rise of American Communist influence in the 1930s were: first, the crisis in international relations indicated by the rise of Hitler and his anti-Comintern Axis, and the dilemma it posed for America whether to join or oppose the Axis; and second, the emergence of an American Communist Party which identified itself with our nation's Jeffersonian traditions, was militantly patriotic, and repudiated the concepts of conspiracy and violent overthrow of the existing government as means to progress. Both these factors were absolutely necessary preconditions for the Communist successes, and only by understanding them can one really know how and why Communism became an important national influence. You may perhaps be willing, therefore, to spend a few moments to learn how these things were understood by myself, Earl Browder, who occupied the key position of directing this Communist movement.

State ~~First, the international crisis. America, the strongest nation in the world, was~~
unable to adopt any clear-cut policy toward this crisis, because it could not shake

off its traditional isolationism, which gripped the vast majority of the people because of the deep disappointment that followed America's participation in the First World War. There were two potential alternatives to isolationism; one was to take a road toward accommodation with the Axis, and even partnership with it in the re-division of the world, the other road was for America to join with all nations threatened by the Axis, to quarantine it in a ring of preponderant power, and if this was not sufficient, to prepare to crush its aggressions. Only minorities were bold enough to speak up clearly for either alternative. The field of American foreign policy was left as a vacuum, which was never filled until Axis bombs dropped on American territory forced the final decision. It was my opinion, accepted by the Communists, that America must inevitably enter an anti-Axis coalition, sooner or later, and that our Party could become an active catalyst of the swing of public opinion in that direction, that the innate timidity of most political groups and leaders would hinder any rival effort in this direction that would force us into second place and swamp us, and therefore, that the Communists, initiating and riding a slowly-rising wave of mass opinion destined to attain tidal proportions, would at once perform a historical task and find its own place as a permanent mass Party in American politics. We proceeded to operate on this grand scheme in 1933, and it was the broad base and source of power of the whole rise of Communism to national influence in the rest of the 1930s.

This concept in the field of foreign policy, however, raised with new emphasis the question of what kind of a Communist Party could carry out such a task successfully. Already for purely domestic reasons, I had begun to transform the Communist Party from its early sectarian character, to discard its role as an American echo of Communism in other lands, and above all to purge it of tendencies of conspiracy and violence inherited from the totally different conditions of Europe. As early as 1934 I had succeeded so far that all expressions of the theory of conspiracy and violence as applied to America were outlawed within the American Communist Party and brought immediate and automatic expulsion of the guilty person. During the latter half of

the 1930s, as we became engaged in the broad activities of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the American Youth Congress, and the League of American Writers, to mention only the most important among the organizations that reached into every community of America and were cross-sections of the most active and alert strata, it was no longer enough to be this sort of Party, we had to advertise it, to make it known to everyone, to destroy the caricature picture created in the public mind by years of anti-Communist propaganda. Therefore I embarked upon a series of public demonstrative actions, of which I will mention only a few examples. In 1937 I appeared before the McNaboe Committee of the New York Legislature, at my own request, to testify among other things as follows: "The Communist Party has been itself accused in some quarters of fomenting disrespect of the criminal law, and of fomenting breaches of public order. These charges are, one and all, without foundation in fact, are falsehoods, designed for the ulterior purpose of discrediting the political program of the Communist Party. The Communist Party is a legal political party, operating by legal means exclusively, defending its legality under the Constitution of the United States and of the State of New York. Some people have accused the Communist Party of hypocrisy and insincerity in its repudiation of illegal methods, of conspiracy and terrorism, and add this charge to the original ones against us. The best refutation of this new charge is the fact that the Communist Party membership, most of it recruited within the past two years, has joined the Party precisely as a result of the Party's publicly proclaimed policies, and would quickly abandon the Party if they should find a contradiction between its inner convictions and beliefs and those which it publicly proclaims. Our Party membership is educated in the spirit of democracy and the American tradition, and all the Party's work is permeated throughout with this spirit." "A familiar charge against the Communist Party is that it receives 'orders from Moscow'; or that it is financed by 'Moscow gold'; or that it is a Party of aliens. There is no truth in any of these charges. The Communist Party makes its own decisions, it has never received orders from Moscow or anywhere else, and if it did receive any such orders it would throw them in the wastebasket; the Communist Party finances itself entirely from its own

resources within the country; its membership is composed of 99 percent of citizens of the United States, and all its members must declare their intention of becoming citizens if they are not already citizens."

As the 10th Party Convention, a Party Constitution was unanimously adopted which provided in Article VI, Section 1: "The Communist Party of the U.S.A. upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction, or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree. The Communist Party of the U.S.A., standing unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country, will fight with all its strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon our people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy."

This Constitution was submitted to a referendum vote of the entire Party membership, which adopted it unanimously by individual secret ballot in the branches. Presumably if there were any members who opposed it they withdrew from the Party without making any demonstration. Every new member of the Party was required to sign a declaration that he had read the Constitution and submitted himself to its provisions.

For several years the Party made repeated attempts to put its position before the Supreme Court of the United States to get an authoritative ruling therefrom on its legality. It was blocked by technicalities until 1943, when Wendell Willkie, acting as attorney without fee for William Schneiderman in a denaturalization case based on Party membership, appeared before the Supreme Court and obtained a decision favorable to the defendant, in the course of which the Supreme Court said: "A tenable conclusion from the foregoing is that the Party in 1927 (that is, more than a decade before the clarifying documents of 1938) desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means, and as a theoretical matter justified the use of force and violence only as a

method of preventing an attempted forcible counter-overthrow once the Party had obtained control in a peaceful manner, or as a method of last resort to enforce the majority will if at some indefinite future time because of peculiar circumstances constitutional or peaceful channels were no longer open." (Wm. Schneiderman vs. U.S., U.S. Supreme Court, June 21, 1943.)

Deepening and buttressing the Party Constitution on this point, the same 10th Convention unanimously adopted a declaration on "The American Tradition and Socialism," written by myself, in which the immediate and ultimate program of the Party was based upon, and shown to be an outgrowth of, the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson, with only such new features which had been made necessary by the transformation of an agrarian country into the land of the highest degree of industrialization yet known. This report was circulated in booklet form in many hundreds of thousands of copies. Furthermore, the Party reprinted and circulated the most basic writings of Jefferson himself, and made a public campaign to popularize them, making them subjects of special study in Party schools. These activities so deeply impressed the leading American historian of Jefferson's times, Mr. Claude Bowers, then abroad as an American Ambassador, that he contributed a specially-written address on Jefferson to be delivered at a Jefferson Bicentennial Commemoration meeting held under the auspices of the Workers School, at which I made the main address.

I have cited documents at some length, because that seems to me the only way I can make it clear that the successes of the Communist Party in the 1930s and after until 1945, were in no way whatever the successes of subversion or of anti-American doctrines. On the contrary, this period of Communist Party history is the best possible example of victory of the best American democratic traditions extended into and taking a dominating position in all the work of the Communist Party itself. And this was indeed the second precondition for the rise of Communism to national influence in America.

Q: Would you, in this connection, consider the League for Peace and Democracy and give us a short outline of the development and the history of this organization?

A: The original initiative came from Europe in 1932, when a call was issued for a World Congress Against War by two famous French writers, Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse, with whom were associated George Bernard Shaw, Madame Sun Yat-Sen, Theodore Dreiser, Albert Einstein, Maxim Gorky, and Heinrich Mann. The Congress was in Amsterdam.

More than 2,000 delegates attended the Congress, including a small group of 32 delegates from America who, upon returning to the United States associated themselves in the American Committee for Struggle Against War and called for the First U. S. Congress Against War. In September, 1933, over 2,600 delegates from 35 states gathered in New York City in answer to the call which had been signed by Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, and the representatives of some 60 national organizations, and established the League Against War & Fascism. About 7 per cent of the delegates came from Communist Party organizations, and another 10% were personally members of the Party but were elected by non-party organizations; thus five-sixths of the Congress was entirely non-Communist. I was a delegate, and at the request of the non-communists (in particular such influential persons as Annie E. Gray of the Women's Peace Society and Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union) I agreed to serve as a vice-chairman together with William Pickens of the Associated Negro Press; J. B. Matthews of the Fellowship of Reconciliation was elected chairman; there were two secretaries, one a Communist and the other a Socialist; and Annie E. Gray was elected Treasurer.

The first six months work of the new organization was highly successful in spreading its network of local organizations throughout the country. But it experienced great difficulties in connection with its national office, all centering around the personality of the chairman, J. B. Matthews. His bombastic super-revolutionary public speeches were embarrassing to the entire organization, to the Communists no less than others, and it was like unloading a "white elephant" when he resigned after about six months. Mr. Matthews subsequently made a profitable career as a paid witness and

exposer of the "Communist domination" of the League, but his letter of resignation tells an entirely different story; in it he said his reasons were financial and complained against the Communists for insufficient activity in the League work. Matthews was replaced as chairman by Dr. Harry F. Ward, then a professor of theology at Union Theological Seminary and also chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Second Congress of the League gathered in Chicago in September, 1934, with 3,332 delegates representing a membership of over 1,800,000 people. The Third Congress at Cleveland in January, 1936, was already more compact and a higher type of organization, with fewer delegates but almost double the membership; about 2,000 delegates represented 1,840 organizations with more than 3,200,000 members, in the main trade unions, religious and fraternal organizations. The Fourth Congress met in Pittsburgh in November, 1937, and registered another big advance in affiliated membership to more than 4,000,000; this included 413 delegates representing ~~xx~~ 1,600,000 members of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Unions. At this Congress the name of the organization was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy. Its policy was defined in the slogan: "Keep the United States out of war and help keep war out of the world." The Communist Party withdrew its affiliation, to meet outside criticism that it was the only national political party represented in it, and thereafter Communists participated in the league only through non-political organizations which elected them as delegates.

These facts are the bare bones of the history of the League for Peace and Democracy, which is often cited as the most successful "united front" ever participated in and guided by the American Communist Party. It never held a Fifth Congress, but it is known that in 1939 its affiliated membership had passed the 5,000,000 mark. Its influence reached into many more who were not organized supporters, and probably included at its peak, in one form or another, an absolute majority of the population. The roster of prominent persons who participated in its public work reads almost like a cross-section of "Who's Who in America."

How was it possible for the League, with prominent Communists occupying high offices in its councils even though always in a minority, to have such success among typical Americans the vast majority of whom never dreamed of having any sympathy with Communism? The answer is to be found, first, in the vacuum or impasse of American foreign policy, which I dealt with previously, in the fact that the whole country was searching for a policy and only the League boldly gave answers to their questions; the League had little competition. Second, it was successful because the Communists themselves worked in the spirit of the American tradition; because they combatted all tendencies toward conspiracy and violence; and because they made no attempt whatever to use the League as an instrument or channel for Communist propaganda. The League program was never written by the Communists, but always by the non-Communists; the Communists were always in a minority and never wished to increase their representation. The League always operated within the limiting framework of the dominant isolationism of American thinking, the slogan of which was "Keep America Out of War"; instead of opposing this head-on the League said: "Yes, keep America out of war; but the only sure way to do this is to help keep war out of the world." Thus was built a bridge whereby, under pressure of world events, great numbers of people could be united and, step by step, pass over from isolationism to active interest in world affairs, to ever more emphatic condemnation of the Axis Powers as the source of the war danger—and finally, when Axis aggression hit America, to move quickly and with little if any opposition to open and active alliance with the Soviet Union in the conduct of the war. And finally, this strategy was so successful that it was not the Communists who gave to America the slogan: "The hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army." That slogan was given by General Douglas MacArthur. It was not the American Communists who gave many billions of dollars worth of aid to the Soviet Government, it was the Government of the United States with the approval of a unanimous Congress and an almost unanimous electorate.

The League went out of existence in 1939, at the opening of the war, but its work lived on to influence the whole course of American policy. The broad unity of the League had been built solely on the hope of "keeping war out of the world," and the outbreak of the war destroyed that hope. The next step, for America to join the grand alliance to crush the Axis, while always in the background of the League's work, giving it its historical significance, was never advocated by the League. It was never advocated by any strong group or leader in America until the bombs that fell on Pearl Harbor made the decision practically an unanimous one.

Q: While you were active in the Communist Party did you oppose Congressional Committees such as the Dies Committee?

A: When the first proposal was made in Congress for an investigation of un-American activities, the Communist Party supported it. It was only when, under * Congressman Dies, the Committee began to work parallel with the lines of Hitler's anti-Comintern, and practically ignored the pro-Hitler propaganda groups that were springing up like mushrooms, that we finally had to oppose it sharply. And I must say that I think we opposed it intelligently and effectively; the Roosevelt Administration opposed it for the same reasons. When Mr. Dies "exposed" the screen actress Shirley Temple as a "Fellow traveller" of the Communists, the country finally laughed Mr. Dies out of Congress—with the assistance of some intensive work to build an opposition to him in the Texas elections, in which I am happy to say I had a little finger of my own.

Q: You have been out of the present Communist Party and opposing it for the past nine years, and therefore have no first hand knowledge of its work. But from your past experience as leader of the Communists, and your observation as an outsider, how would you evaluate the mass influence of the Communist Party of America today?

A: I would say that as a mass political influence it appears that the Communist Party long ago approached a practical zero. What remnants of its former influence ~~it still retains is largely due to the persecutions inflicted upon it by the government~~

based on unsound and dangerous legal theories, which has thrown on their side the instinctive American sympathy for the underdog, for minorities which are unjustly and irrationally persecuted, and in which the whole world sees that America is hysterically aping the most unsavory practices of the Communist governments themselves.

Q: Have you conferred with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

A: No, I have not. I have no knowledge that could be of legitimate interest to them. My operations as a political leader were open and above board, known to everyone who wanted to know of them. Furthermore, I have reason to distrust the political judgment of the F.B.I. in dealing with the issue of Communism, because I know it used agents working within the Party during my leadership, to try to push the Communists or incite them into illegal activities, in order that they might be easier attacked. In fact, it is a matter of public record that F.B.I. agents initiated the movement within the Communist Party to overthrow my policy of cooperation with the U. S. Government, and to keep friendship between Russia and America after the war, on the grounds that thereby I was "betraying the revolution." This F.B.I. effort to oust me as Party Leader took place a year before Jacques Duclos of the Russian Communists had awakened to the fact that I would become an obstacle to their plans, and while they were still supporting me. When Duclos published his article against my policies, every F.B.I. agent working within the Communist Party joined whole-heartedly in the movement to repudiate and oust me, and many of them won high positions in the Party councils by this means. The outstanding example of this is Mr. Herbert Philbrick, as may be seen from reading his book "I Led Three Lives." On the basis of my own experience, therefore, I can hardly be expected to be an admirer of the F.B.I. in the field of handling the Communists.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: October 19, 1954

FROM : R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: ^①EARL BROWDER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Tolson ☒
Boardman ☒
Nichols ☒
Belmont ☒
Harbo ☒
Mohr ☒
Parsons ☒
Rosen ☒
Tamm ☒
Sizoo ☒
Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holloman ☒
Gandy ☒

G.I.R.-S

You will recall that the Liaison Section previously has furnished information concerning the efforts of Judge Robert Morris and his associates to interview Earl Browder. You will also recall that information was received indicating that Judge Morris planned to utilize the services of [redacted] in connection with such effort. On October 18, 1954, [redacted] advised that he had received information indicating that Browder was to be interviewed at Morris' residence on October 19, 1954. (S) (U)

On October 19, 1954, [redacted] Agent Papich that he had received information to the effect that Browder had met with Judge Morris and that [redacted] had been present at the meeting. According to [redacted] Browder appeared cooperative and [redacted] has expressed the belief that Browder eventually will volunteer considerable information of interest. [redacted] stated that he is endeavoring to obtain additional details concerning this first meeting. He advised that he will continue to report to the Liaison Agent concerning any pertinent developments. He did state that according to [redacted] Browder is in possession of hundreds of documents which undoubtedly will be of considerable value to the U. S. Government. (S) (U)

ACTION:

The above information is being referred to the attention of Mr. Nichols and the Internal Security Section. The Liaison Agent will continue to report any information received from [redacted] concerning the instant matter. (S) (U)

12-14-01
CLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1
(PART 5 102) 3 PER OGA LTR 12-10-01
RECORDED - 88
EX-103

SJP:lw

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Baumgardner
- Mr. Baken

29 OCT 21 1954

NOV 3 1954

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NEW YORK

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 10/28/54	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/23; 7/24, 26; 9/9, 10; 10/6, 7, 11; 15, 18/54	REPORT MADE BY JAMES E. HANLON <i>mal</i>
TITLE <u>EARL RUSSELL BROWDER</u>, was			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C; PERJURY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Subject resides apartment 3F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY. Subject self-employed writer at home. Subject's wife, IRENE, reported suffering from cancer. Subject's perjury trial still pending, USDC, SDNY. Subject reported to be anti-Communist, especially since trial of Jewish doctors in Russia. Additional prior CP activities reported.

- P* -

DETAILS:

I BACKGROUNDA. Residence

T-1, of known reliability, advised in July, 1954, that the subject resides in apartment 3F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

B. Employment

T-2, of unknown reliability, but who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in October, 1954, that the subject has not been employed, to the informant's knowledge,

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Declassify on 5/12/99

5/12/99

DR
11-8-54
0-6
Tortora

APPROVED AND
FORWARDED:SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

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(1-100-11205) 7421

OCT 29 1954

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since he was a book representative with offices on 42nd Street, New York City.

The informant indicated that the subject has written several articles for magazines and newspapers for which he has received payments. The informant added that WALDO BROWDER and the subject's sons are believed to be assisting in the support of the subject and his wife.

C. Relatives

T-3, of unknown reliability, but a person in a position to furnish information concerning IRENE BROWDER, advised in July, 1954, that IRENE BROWDER is a bed patient, and is believed to be suffering from cancer.

II STATUS OF PROSECUTION

Assistant United States Attorney RICHARD OWEN, Southern District of New York, advised on October 11, 1954, that the perjury trial against EARL BROWDER is still pending in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York.

The records of the Chief Clerk, Criminal Division, Office of the United States Attorney, Southern District of New York, reflect that on July 16, 1954, RAISSA IRENE BROWDER was granted a severance upon the oral motion of the United States Government by J. SHELLY WRIGHT, Judge, United States District Court, Southern District of New York.

III CURRENT ACTIVITIES

T-2, previously mentioned, advised in October, 1954, that the subject has expressed himself in an anti-Communist manner on a number of occasions, particularly after the persecution of the Jewish doctors in Russia.

According to the informant, the subject has written several articles that expressed his anti-Communist

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feelings. The informant stated that the subject has not been involved in any activities other than to care for his ill wife, and has done a considerable amount of reading and writing at his home.

T-4, of known reliability, stated in August, 1954, that he was of the opinion that MARTIN YOUNG has been in secret contact with EARL BROWDER.

T-5, of unknown reliability, but a person who is familiar with some of MARTIN YOUNG's activities, advised in April, 1952, that MARTIN YOUNG was Secretary of the Ohio Communist Party, and also for the Pittsburgh District of the Communist Party. He also stated that YOUNG is now awaiting deportation.

IV PRIOR ACTIVITY IN FURTHERANCE
OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

T-6, of unknown reliability, but who is acquainted with the subject, advised in February, 1954, that he had attended a Communist Party meeting in 1941 in New York City, at which the subject was also present.

PAUL CROUCH, self-admitted former Communist Party member, in testimony in the United States District Court, St. Louis, Missouri, at the prosecution of Communist Party leaders for violation of the Smith Act, February 24, 1954, volume 18, page 2463, stated that he attended a Communist Party convention June 24 to 28 inclusive, 1936, in New York City.

CROUCH stated that he was a member of the presiding Committee of which EARL BROWDER was also a member.

T-7, of known reliability, furnished information on July 26, 1954, concerning pamphlets written by EARL BROWDER, as follows:

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>QUANTITY</u>
Build the United Peoples Front	Nov. 1935	14,600
Which Road for American Workers	Nov. 1935	25,000(estimated)

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TITLE	DATE	QUANTITY
Lincoln and the Communists	Feb. 1936	30,000
Communist Position in 1936	Mar. 1936	23,630
Democracy or Fascism	June, 1936	73,550
Zionism	June 1936	10,000 (estimated)
Acceptance Speeches	June 1936	264,600
Who Are the Americans	1936, reprint from book "What is Communism"	289,600
Hearst's "Secret Documents"	June 1936	39,500
Peoples Front in America	Aug. 1936	24,800
Results of Elections	Dec. 1936	12,000
Constitution of the U.S.A.	1937	25,000 (estimated)
Trotskyism vs. World Peace	Feb. 1937	50,000
Talks to America	Feb. 1937	10,000
Lenin and Spain	Jan. 1937	50,000
Communists and Peoples Front	June 1937	15,000
Red-Baiting, Enemy of Labor	Sep. 1937	25,000 (estimated)
Meaning of Palestine Partition	Sep. 1937	10,000 (estimated)
China & the U.S.A.	Oct. 1937	131,000
No. America & Soviet Union	Oct. 1937	10,000 (estimated)
Next Steps to Win War in Spain	Dec. 1937	50,000
Traitors in American History	Mar. 1938	17,500
Concerted Action or Isolation?	Apr. 1938	10,000 (estimated)
A Message to Catholics	June 1938	329,600
The Democratic Front	May 1938	184,740
Theory as Guide to Action	Jan. 1939	24,500
Economics of Communism	Feb. 1939	22,400
Religion and Communism	Mar. 1939	88,310
The 1940 Elections	Sep. 1939	95,400
Unity for Peace & Democracy	Sep. 1939	74,267
America & Second Imperialist War	Sep. 1939	50,000 (estimated)
Whose War Is It	Sep. 1939	415,900
Socialism, War & America	Nov. 1939	149,525
Stop the War	Nov. 1939	221,600
Social & National Security*	Dec. 1938	71,450
Two Speeches	Jan. 1940	319,500
People vs. the War Makers	Feb. 1940	85,260
Jewish People & War	May 1940	55,300
Peoples Road to Peace	May 1940	204,100
Talks to Senators	July 1940	15,000

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TITLE	DATE	QUANTITY
American Foreign Policy	Oct. 1940	106,025
On the Soviet Union	Feb. 1942	20,000
Internationalism; 1940 Elections	Nov. 1940	213,520
The Most Peculiar Election	Nov. 1940	3,950
Way Out of Imperialist War	Jan. 1941	183,262
Path of Browder & Foster	Mar. 1941	20,000
Party History, CPUSA	May 1941	53,100
Communism & Culture	Aug. 1941	21,950
Road to Victory	Sep. 1941	25,000
Victory Must Be Won	July 1942	631,800
Speed the Second Front	Sep. 1942	219,200
Production for Victory	Nov. 1942	112,000
Wage Policy in War Production	Feb. 1943	64,000
Is Communism a Menace?	Mar. 1943	12,500
Policy for Victory	May 1943	15,000
Heritage of Jefferson	Apr. 1943	8,000
Anti-Semitism	July 1943	25,000
Future of Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition	Sep. 1943	443,000
Make 1943 the Decisive Year	Sep. 1943	372,300
George Dimitroff	Oct. 1943	9,850
A Talk About the Communist Party	Dec. 1943	63,000
Moscow-Cairo-Teheran	Jan. 1944	24,800
Teheran and America	Jan. 1944	124,150
Whall the C.P. Change its Name	Feb. 1944	40,625
Communists and National Unity	Mar. 1944	55,000
Road Ahead to Victory & Lasting Peace	May 1944	24,000
Economic Problems of War & Peace	Oct. 1944	99,000
China's New Democracy (Introd.)	Nov. 1944	12,540
Meaning of the Elections	Dec. 1944	11,325
Communists Struggle for Negro Rights	Jan. 1945	35,000
America's Decisive Battle	Mar. 1945	475,000

The above list covers the period from November, 1935 to March, 1945. Over sixty publications, having a distribution of approximately seven million one hundred thousand copies, are listed.

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T-8, of unknown reliability, but who is believed in a position to furnish accurate information, advised on August 12, 1954, that he has known one CLEMENTE SOTO VELEZ since both of them were boys together in Ponce, Puerto Rico. He stated that CLEMENTE SOTO VELEZ was, at one time, a member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, and because of his activities in the latter organization, he had been convicted and served time in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia.

Also incarcerated at the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, during the period that VELEZ was there, were EARL BROWDER, JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER and PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS.

The informant stated that although he could not remember the source for the information, he had heard that both CLEMENTE SOTO VELEZ and JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER became friendly with BROWDER, at least on a conversational basis while in the penitentiary.

The informant stated that it was his further understanding that BROWDER had greatly influenced the thinking of CLEMENTE SOTO VELEZ and CORRETJER to the point where they abandoned the Nationalist Party for the Communist Party. The informant claimed he had no personal knowledge that this had actually happened, but was repeating heresay information from a source whose identity he can not recall.

T-9, of unknown reliability, but a person who is in a position to report on Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico activities, has advised that JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER was the former General Secretary of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, who published for about a year, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico newspaper, "Pueblos Hispanos."

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS is the incarcerated President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.

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T-10, of unknown reliability, but a person who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity, furnished the following information in April, 1954 concerning the subject's relation to the Communist Party movement. The informant stated in part as follows:

"This program, espoused by EARL BROWDER, of win the war, help the allies and open a second front was aimed directly, although not openly, in helping the Soviet Union. This had worked so successfully that BROWDER, who was in control of the Party, theorized that the Communist Party, United States of America, should be disbanded as the mission of defeating Fascism had been accomplished and it appeared that there could be peaceful co-existence between such great nations as the United States and Russia. He suggested that the Communist Political Association should be organized as a legitimate political party and that this organization would continue to cooperate with Capital and Government. He also based this on the theory that labor had made such tremendous strides during the war that they could attain whatever they then demanded from government and big business.

"The Communist Political Association was then organized in 1944 at a National Convention, with the Communist Party, United States of America being disbanded. BROWDER was elected at this convention as President of the Communist Political Association.

"The program of BROWDER and his revisionism of Marxism-Leninism was objected to by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER at this time; however, BROWDER won and the Communist Political Association came into existence.

"The Communist Political Association National Convention, which was also known as the Reconstitution Convention, was held a short time after the Northwest District Convention, and at this convention, the Communist Political Association was disbanded. The Communist Party, United States of America, was reconstituted and EARL BROWDER was repudiated as a revisionist of Marxism-Leninism and subsequently expelled from the Communist Party. The

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"national leadership declared that the Party would return to the true principles of Marxism-Leninism, to certainly include the class struggle. All national Party leaders who spoke at the Reconstitution Convention, other than WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, admitted their mistake and declared the necessity of returning to the class struggle.

"As a result of the reconstitution a calculated program was instituted to reactivate, reregister and re-educate the Communist Party membership. It was felt that it was necessary to root out the revisionism of BROWDER and his methods of work. It was stated that the Communist Party's desire was to be a fighting party of the working class and a party of struggle, with struggle even being included in the Party itself.

"The National Convention of the Communist Political Association-Communist Party was held about ten days later in New York City, being the latter part of July, 1945. I was a member of the Resolutions Committee, which drafted the main resolution,..... The central job of this Committee was to analyze and review the BROWDER revisionism of the Communist Political Association, and to formulate a program based on Marxism-Leninism. The Committee met for many hours and had detailed discussions of innumerable points as to how we got off the track of Marxism-Leninism under BROWDER's leadership.

"I recall that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER had been elected Chairman of the new Communist Party, United States of America, and in speaking to the Convention tried to give an analysis of the situation. He gave BROWDER credit for the revisionist tendencies and the lack of emphasis placed on the class struggle."

The "Daily Worker" issue of June 19, 1953, page two, column one, in an article entitled "FOSTER Wires Clemency Plea to EISENHOWER," WILLIAM Z. FOSTER is described as the Chairman of the Communist Party.

V CONNECTION WITH THE INSTITUTE OF
PACIFIC RELATIONS

The records of T-11,

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 , reflects the following information regarding EARL BROWDER, and the Institute of Pacific Relations:

b7D

An informant of T-11 advised that agency, that in the winter months of early 1932, the informant was in San Francisco, California, after returning from a trip to South America, made in the capacity of a representative of the Comintern. During a meeting in San Francisco with HARRISON GEORGE and EARL BROWDER, HARRISON GEORGE informed them as follows: (S) (C) (U)

The Pan Pacific Bureau of the Comintern had been forced out of Shanghai by CHIANG KAI-SHEK's police and GEORGE had been instructed to establish it in San Francisco. This city was chosen because of its large Chinatown and its vantage as a large seaport. The Pan Pacific Bureau was the largest and most important section of the Comintern. (S) (C) (U)

This area included the entire Pacific from Alaska to Chile, and Westward to include the Orient. (S) (C) (U)

GEORGE advised that he had been given fifty thousand dollars as an initial fund to set up this Bureau, and he desired some help from the informant and BROWDER to set up an innocent appearing front for the activity. BROWDER advised him not to bother about setting up a front because there was in existence, an organization which would be ideal because of its nature for such functions. (S) (C) (U)

BROWDER identified the organization as the Institute of Pacific Relations, and stated that "We control the man who controls it." (S) (C) (U)

The informant further advised regarding the statements made by HARRISON GEORGE, that : BROWDER was to furnish the necessary personnel to act as agents, couriers, etc. for the Pan Pacific Bureau, from Communist Party members known to be reliable. (S) (C) (U)

An informant of T-11 advised that agency that after CHIANG KAI-SHEK closed the Chinese missions, (S) (C) (U)

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through which the Pan Pacific Secretariat had operated, HARRISON GEORGE was called to Moscow and instructed to set up an organization in the United States, through which the Pan Pacific Secretariat could function. He found on conferring with EARL BROWDER, that the "guiding light" of the Institute of Pacific Relations was under Communist Party control. ~~(S)~~ (C) (U)

The records of T-11 indicate that an informant of T-11 was of the opinion that EARL BROWDER could prove to be a key to exposing the entire Communist conspiracy regarding the Far East. ~~(S)~~ (C) (U)

J. DAVID WHITTAKER CHAMBERS was interviewed by SAS of the New York Office, from January through April of 1949. CHAMBERS admitted being engaged in Soviet espionage, and during the interview, made the following comments pertaining to HARRISON GEORGE:

In about 1928, GEORGE became a member of the "Daily Worker" staff in New York City. CHAMBERS claimed to have later heard that GEORGE became the head of underground activities in the West Coast Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. GEORGE also allegedly told CHAMBERS that during the time that EARL BROWDER was in China, GEORGE had accompanied him and had been a Comintern observer during the "Canton Revolt."

The Institute of Pacific Relations was founded in 1925 in Hawaii as an organization engaged in research on the economic, political, and social aspects of countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean. As a result of documentary evidence and testimony from witnesses who have appeared during 1951 and 1952 before the Sub-committee on Internal Security, of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, this Committee concluded in the report dated July 2, 1952, that while most members of the Institute of Pacific Relations (including the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, succeeded by the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Incorporated) and its Board of Trustees were inactive and without any influence over

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the policies of the organization, and while the names of eminent individuals were by design used as a responsible and impressive screening for the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations inner core activities, administration and policies of the Institute of Pacific Relations were controlled by a small core of Communists or pro-Communist personnel; that the Institute of Pacific Relations was considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet officials, as an instrument of Soviet policy, propoganda and military intelligence; that the Institute of Pacific Relations was used as a channel for Communist and Soviet propoganda, and its leadership used the Institute of Pacific Relations prestige to promote the interest of the Soviet Union; that the Institute of Pacific Relations had for its chief function, the influencing of United States public opinion, and was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American Far Eastern policies; and that persons associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations were instrumental in keeping the United States policy on a course favorable to Communist objectives in China.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished	File number where Located
T-1 [REDACTED]	Residence	7/26/54	SA DANIEL H. LUCKING	100-14205-148 b7D
T-2 [REDACTED]	Employment, current activities	10/6/54	SA LAWRENCE W. SPILLANE	100-25693-1249
T-3 [REDACTED]	Re health of IRENE BROWDER	7/24/54	SA DANIEL H. LUCKING	100-14205-148
T-4 [REDACTED]	Contact with MARTIN YOUNG	8/2/54	SAS CARL N. FREYMAN, MICHAEL R. CARRANO	[REDACTED] b3 b7D
T-5 [REDACTED]	Used to document MARTIN YOUNG			NYC. b7D
T-6 [REDACTED]	CP meeting, 1941, NYC.	2/1,8/54	SAS JOHN S. TEMPLE, JOHN F. SHEIK	100-16635-32
T-7 [REDACTED]	Writings of subject	7/26/54		b7D

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished	File number where located
T-8 <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin-top: 5px;"></div>	Ass'n with NPPR members	8/12/54	SA JOSEPH H. GAUZENS	100-47515 b7D
T-9 <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 200px; height: 60px; margin-top: 5px;"></div>	Used to document JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER			b7D
T-10 <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 190px; height: 35px; margin-top: 5px;"></div>	Subject's status in CP movement	4/5/54	SAS RAY W. RICHARDSON, ROBERT E. MASON	100-100652-10 b7D
T-11 <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 180px; height: 140px; margin-top: 5px; position: relative;"><div style="position: absolute; top: 0; left: 0; width: 100%; height: 100%; border: 1px solid black;"></div></div>	Re IPR	5/24/54	SAC, NY	100-25693- 1224 b7D
	Re IPR	4/9/54	SAC, NY	100-25693- 1224
(c) (U)	Re BROWDER and Far East	4/9/54	SAC, NY	100-25693- 1224

MISCELLANEOUS

INS report, dated 3/12/54, entitled "HOLLAND,
WILLIAM LANCELOT; CANCELLATION-SUBVERSIVE" sets forth the
results of an interview with

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NY 100-25693 ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)
MISCELLANEOUS (CONT'D)

[REDACTED] advised that at present he is continuing a year-long attempt to secure the complete cooperation of EARL BROWDER, PHILIP JAFFE and HARRISON GEORGE. He stated that both BROWDER and JAFFE were cooperating at present on a limited scale, but that none of the three would cooperate fully unless an immunity law is passed, because of their having committed crimes on which the Statute of Limitations does not apply.

On July 31, 1954, [REDACTED] a highly placed informant, orally furnished SAS CARL N. FREYMAN and MICHAEL R. CARRANO the following information which he obtained through [REDACTED] BETTY GARNETT on July 19, 1954: A discussion was then had regarding the Communist Party's United Front Program generally and specifically in regard to the Chicago District. This led to a talk regarding EARL BROWDER. FOSTER stated that as far as he knows, BROWDER has not openly acted as a "stool pigeon" for the government. They then continued with a discussion of BROWDER'S activities in the Party during his term as head of the Communist Party, United States of America.

b7D

The following information is contained in New York letter to Director, Bureau file [REDACTED] dated September 17, 1954, entitled [REDACTED] was, ESPIONAGE-IS & R." [REDACTED] MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING (ESPIONAGE)" [REDACTED] on September 9, 1954, furnished the following information concerning [REDACTED] contact with [REDACTED] The following information is believed to refer to EARL BROWDER: (S)

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b7D

In reply to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in this connection he told [REDACTED] that he had informed BOB MORRIS [REDACTED] as to whether he has [REDACTED] will be whether he will [REDACTED] He stated that he had bet MORRIS that EARL would not be ready to see him because he will be afraid. [REDACTED] stated that he (EARL)

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X (U)

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NY 100-25693 ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)
MISCELLANEOUS (CONT'D)

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NY 100-25693 ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)
MISCELLANEOUS (CONT'D)

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LEADS

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report prosecutive action against
the subject in the SDNY.

Will follow and report on subject's activities.

REFERENCE: Report of SA GUSTAV S. ABRANDT, 4/28/54, at New
York.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Spent*

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER *(up)*

DATE: October 26, 1954 *7/5*

Tolson _____
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 Winterrowd _____
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Judge Robert Morris advised me last evening that last week he had a dinner where he brought Earl Browder, [redacted] and Philip Jaffe together. Browder was very much depressed on the occasion. His wife is dying and, according to Jaffe, will not live more than two or three more weeks. [redacted] and Browder renewed old friendships and [redacted] made what Morris described as a very compelling case for Browder to come clean and cooperate fully with the Government. Browder was noncommittal. He did not know what to do on certain lines. Both Jaffe and [redacted] concluded afterwards that Browder is terribly mixed up, is under considerable emotional stress by virtue of his wife's condition. Morris stated that according to [redacted] the most information learned was that Browder at one time had a very cordial relationship with the Yugoslavs. Approximately nine months ago they cut him off and [redacted] has interpreted this as indicating that Tito of the Yugoslavian government is going back into the Soviet orbit. *Brak* *PMS* *7/5*

[redacted] stated that he has seen Browder's type many times and that a lot of work has to be done on him before he will come around completely. Morris stated that John Rogge called him yesterday about Browder being subpoenaed before the Grand Jury in Washington. Rogge, who has been trying to get Browder to make a clean breast, is disturbed because he is fearful that under the emotional stress which Browder is now suffering that it will not be healthful and that it is a bad mistake to push Browder at this time. Rogge mentioned that he does not feel that Browder's wife has more than two or three weeks to live. *b7D*

Morris further stated that he wondered if the Department had given any thought to getting Jaffe to appear before the Grand Jury because Jaffe is now opening up and being more forthright and furnishing information. To illustrate, Jaffe told Morris recently that Solomon Adler of the Treasury Department was a Communist. Morris felt that Jaffe if taken before the Grand Jury and the matter of immunity was discussed with him, that the results might be very favorable and worth while.

cc - Mr. Boardman
 cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:ptm

RECORDED-112

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/19/80 BY [redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

November 1, 1954

RECORDED-112

714
Director, FBI

EARL BROWDER

PHILIP JACOB JAFFE, with aliases
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

b7D

A source of known reliability advised on October 25, 1954, that during the week of October 18, 1954, he had a meeting with Earl Browder, [redacted] and Philip Jaffe. On this occasion, Browder appeared very much depressed since his wife is dying and is not expected to live for more than two or three weeks. The source advised that [redacted] and Browder renewed old friendships and [redacted] made what was described by the source as a very compelling case for Browder to talk and cooperate fully with the Government. Browder was noncommittal and did not know what to do on certain lines. The source stated that Jaffe and [redacted] concluded after the meeting that Browder is terribly confused and is under considerable emotional stress because of his wife's condition. The source advised that the most information learned at this meeting was to the effect that Browder at one time had a very cordial relationship with the Yugoslavs until approximately nine months ago.

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The source advised that John Rogge, Browder's attorney, is disturbed about Browder's being subpoenaed before a Federal Grand Jury in Washington because he is fearful that under the emotional stress which Browder is now suffering it is a mistake to push Browder at this time.

The source stated that in his opinion, Jaffe is now beginning to talk and is becoming more forthright and is beginning to furnish some information. As an illustration, Jaffe advised the source recently that [redacted] (a former Treasury Department employee mentioned by Elizabeth Bentley as a Soviet agent) was a Communist. It was the source's feeling that if Jaffe were taken before a grand jury and the Immunity Bill discussed with him, the results

b3

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] ON 11/13/83
COMM - FBI
NOV - 8 1954
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Parsons _____
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Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

40-3798

cc - [redacted]
cc - 100-267360 (Philip Jacob Jaffe)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FLJ:rmw

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

might be very favorable and worthwhile. This, of course, is source's opinion and does not constitute a recommendation by this Bureau for or against Jaffe's being considered under the Immunity Bill.

The above is being made available to you for your information.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

~~SECRET~~

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CC - T.D. Rushing
Room 1254

TO : A.H. BELMONT

DATE: October 18, 1954

FROM : W.A. BRANIGAN

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

In response to a telephonic request that he be contacted, [REDACTED] was called by telephone at 4:10 p.m., today by W.R. Wannall, Espionage Section. [REDACTED] said that he had not been able to reach Mr. Papich and wished to advise the Bureau that there has been a development in connection with the efforts of Judge Robert Morris and his associates to interview Earl Browder. [REDACTED] said that the meeting with Browder is scheduled for tomorrow night, October 19, 1954. Browder will have dinner at Judge Morris' residence and after dinner he will be interviewed. (S) (U)

As you are aware, Mr. Nichols is familiar with the details regarding the efforts of Judge Morris to conduct the interview with Browder. (S) (U)

ACTION:

It is recommended that this memorandum be routed to Mr. Nichols for his information and to the Internal Security Section for the information of the Supervisor handling the Browder case.

WRW:mh

CC - 1 - L.B. Nichols
Room 5640

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

12-14-01
CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1
(PART 1 & 2) PER OGA LTR 12-10-01

RECORDED - 55

EX-129

40-3798-715

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b7C

64 OCT 28 1954

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 5 1954

TELETYPE

G. I. R. - 9

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASH 19 FROM NEW YORK 5 10-30 P
DIRECTOR U R G E N T

EARL BROWDER, WAS, SM-C. DURING COURSE OF INTERVIEW WITH [REDACTED] ON NOVEMBER FIFTH, NINETEEN FIFTYFOUR, SHE ADVISED THAT SHE WAS TO INTERVIEW EARL BROWDER, FORMER GENERAL CHAIRMAN, CP, USA, ON MONDAY EVENING NEXT, NOVEMBER EIGHTH. INTERVIEW WILL BE CONDUCTED AT HOME OF TED DRAPER OF THE STAFF OF THE MAGAZINE "THE REPORTED", WHO MADE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE INTERVIEW. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, DRAPER HAS BEEN INTERVIEWING BROWDER RECENTLY FOR MATERIAL HE WILL USE IN BOOK HE IS WRITING RE US COMMUNISM SOURCE STATES SHE IS INTERVIEWING BROWDER IN CONNECTION WITH RESEARCH WORK FOR HER EMPLOYER, THE RAND CORP. SHE PLANS TO OBTAIN WHATEVER INFORMATION BROWDER HAS OR WILL GIVE REGARDING PRESENT LEADERS OF SOVIET UNION, SUCH AS NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, AS WELL AS ANY OPINION SUBJECT MAY HAVE REGARDING RECENT SO-CALLED "DOCTORS- PLOT" AND RE DEATH OF ZHDANOV. SOURCE SAID BROWDER IS AWARE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND HAS AGREED TO BE INTERVIEWED. NYO CONTEMPLATES CONTACTING SOURCE RE RESULTS OF BROWDER-S INTERVIEW AND RE BROWDER-S ATTITUDE. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

68 NOV 12 1954
HOLD PLS Mr. Belmont

RECORDED - 26
EX-129

KELLY

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DATE 5/25/99 BY

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AIR-TEL
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
NEW YORK, 11/12/54

FD-36

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Mr. Gandy _____

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU

EARL BROWDER, WAS, SM-C. RE NY AIR-TEL, 11/5/54. [REDACTED] b7D
ADVISED ON 11/12/54 THAT SHE HAD INTERVIEWED EARL BROWDER, FORMER GENERAL CHAIRMAN CP, USA, ON EVENING OF 11/8/54. BROWDER WAS FRIENDLY AND APPEARED TO BE COOPERATIVE, BUT TOLD SOURCE HE HAD NEVER PERSONALLY MET THE PRESENT SOVIET RULERS, SUCH AS MALENKOV OR KHRUSHCHEV. SOURCE STATED SHE DID NOT CONSIDER INTERVIEW PRODUCTIVE ALTHOUGH SHE FOUND BROWDER EAGER TO ASSIST HER IN HER RESEARCH. SOURCE SAID BROWDER HAS CONSIDERABLE INFORMATION IN HIS POSSESSION REGARDING FORMER SOVIET LEADERS AND CONCERNING THE AMERICAN CP BUT THAT SHE DID NOT QUESTION BROWDER CONCERNING THESE SUBJECTS SINCE HER RESEARCH AT PRESENT IS CONFINED TO THE PRESENT SOVIET RULERS. SOURCE CONTEMPLATES INTERVIEWING BROWDER AGAIN IN A MONTH OR SO REGARDING THE EARLIER SOVIET LEADERS, BUT HAS SET NO DATE. SOURCE ALSO NOTED THAT BROWDER IS SERIOUSLY DISTURBED OVER THE CRITICAL ILLNESS OF HIS WIFE AND THAT HIS CONCERN IS INTERFERING WITH HIS POWERS OF RECOLLECTION AND CONCENTRATION. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/25/99 BY [REDACTED]

KELLY

3 - BUREAU (40-3798) (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - NY [REDACTED]

RSP:PAH (#6)
100-25693

RECORDED - 113

40-3798-777

Approved NK- [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI(100-3798)

FROM : SAC, New York (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS - C; PERJURY

DATE: 12/17/54

On 1/13/54, ALLAN E. SLCANE testified before an Executive Session of the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, D.C. The HCUA pamphlet entitled "Communist Methods of Infiltration(Entertainment-Part One)" which contains SLCANE's entire testimony, states that the testimony was released by the full Committee. A copy of this pamphlet is maintained in the library of the NYC.

SLCANE testified that he became a CP member in about March, 1943 at NYC, and that he severed relations with the CP in about July or August, 1944.

In his testimony, SLCANE stated that EARL BROWDER was very proud of the fact that what he, BROWDER, was leading, was the American CP, and not one from outside America.

EARL BROWDER is currently included in the SI of the NYC, and he is the subject of a pending inactive case. No additional action is contemplated at this time.

RM

1 - NY 100-58311(ALLAN E. SLCANE)(7-5)

CWM:MAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/99 BY [redacted]

RECORDED 13

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Director, FBI (61-5215)
SAC, New York (100-25780)

12/23/54

CORLISS LAMONT
SM - C; PERJURY

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS - C; PERJURY

Remytels dated 5/19/52 and 6/12/52, captioned
"CP, USA, TOPLEV, IS - C; EARL BROWDER, IS - C."

Retels set out the results of interviews with BROWDER, it being noted BROWDER refused to discuss CP matters with Bureau Agents for fear of becoming personally implicated.

In connection with the current perjury investigation to locate witnesses who can identify CORLISS LAMONT as a person who was a CP member, several potential witnesses interviewed have advised it was their belief the only person who would have knowledge of LAMONT's CP membership would be EARL BROWDER.

One witness, LISTON OAK, has advised LAMONT was believed to have become a CP member in the early 1930s after conferences with BROWDER. Other individuals have advised LAMONT was a CP "member at large", and as such his membership was known only to BROWDER, and he was only obligated personally to BROWDER.

The NYO believes EARL BROWDER should be contacted specifically regarding the CP membership of LAMONT. It is believed such a specific limited inquiry of BROWDER might receive favorable results, in that BROWDER would not implicate himself to a great degree if the interview only concerned his knowledge of CORLISS LAMONT.

It is believed that if favorable results were achieved by questioning BROWDER specifically regarding LAMONT, there is a probability the "door might be opened" for future interviews with him regarding specific subjects.

- 2 - Bureau (40-3798) (EARL RUSSELL BROWDER)
- 1 - NY 100-25693 (EARL BROWDER)

RM

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140-3798 ✓
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/99 BY [REDACTED]

35 JAN

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Letter to Director
NY 100-25780

In the event such an interview is authorized, it would be pointed out to BROWDER that if he has knowledge of LAMONT'S CP membership and refuses to discuss this knowledge, he is protecting a perjurer, and on the other hand if he knows LAMONT was not a CP member, he should be bound by his past association with LAMONT to defend LAMONT'S veracity. It will also be pointed out to BROWDER that this is a confidential inquiry, and his answer to the questions will be maintained in confidence by the FBI.

When interviewed in 1952, BROWDER undoubtedly entertained the belief if he did talk to the interviewing agents, he would be subjected to continuing interviews which would consume the greater part of his personal time.

If this interview is authorized, it will be pointed out to BROWDER that the discussion is limited to his knowledge of CP membership on the part of CORLISS LAMONT. It is believed any courteous reaction by BROWDER will supply a "wedge" for future interviews of BROWDER on specific subjects, and perhaps encourage him to full future cooperation.

If the Bureau deems it advisable to authorize the above interview, it will be conducted by two experienced agents thoroughly familiar with Communist interviews and investigations, one of whom is thoroughly acquainted with the investigation and background of CORLISS LAMONT.

It is contemplated the interview will be conducted at EARL BROWDER'S residence in Yonkers, NY, at approximately noon without advance notice to BROWDER. It is felt BROWDER will be far more at ease at his residence and thereby more prone to talk.

No promises will be made to BROWDER and no matter what his reaction, he will be treated with extreme courtesy.

Letter to Director
NY 100-25780

At the first indication of antagonism on the part of BROWDER, the interview will be courteously terminated by the Bureau Agents.

Bureau authority is requested to interview EARL BROWDER regarding his knowledge of CORLISS LAMONT in accordance with the above set out procedure.

2 - New York
 3 - Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Belmont
 January 7, 1955
 Mr. Baumgardner
 Mr. Bagley

SAC, New York (100-25780)(100-25693)

Director, FBI (61-5215)(40-3798)

CORLISS LAMONT
 SECURITY MATTER - C
 PERJURY

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C
 PERJURY

Reurlet dated December 23, 1954.

Authority to interview Earl Browder in the manner indicated in your letter and for the purpose of determining whether Lamont is a Communist Party member is granted. However, you cannot assure Browder that his answers will be maintained in confidence since the purpose of the interview is to secure evidence to present to the Department for possible use in a public trial. This interview should be conducted by two experienced agents familiar with Browder's background and the facts of the Lamont case.

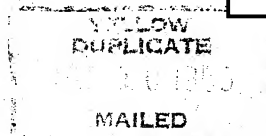
As set forth in your letter, the interview with Browder should be confined to the issue of Lamont's Communist Party membership. Naturally you should accept any other information that Browder might care to give, but no statements should be made to urge or encourage Browder to talk about matters other than the specific issue. Your position of investigating a criminal violation should be made completely clear to Browder. In the event that Browder indicates a desire to hold further conversation on other matters with agents, you should immediately advise the Bureau so that consideration can be given to this development.

Upon completion of the interview, you should promptly advise the Bureau of Browder's attitude. A report reflecting the results of the interview should be sent without delay accompanied by a cover letter containing the agents' opinions and evaluations of Browder and his reaction.

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 Winterrowd _____
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 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

JJB:jdd
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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 DATE 5/12/99 BY [redacted]



40-3798-✓
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 59 JAN 11 1955

60 JAN 14 1955

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Mr. A. Rosen

December 31,
1954

Mr. C. H. Stanley

[redacted]
aka Mrs. [redacted]
[redacted]

Department of the Army
Fort Bragg, North Carolina
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/4/01 BY [redacted]

An employee security form has been received on [redacted] employee, who is the daughter-in-law of Earl Russell Browder, former Communist Party official who in 1946 was expelled from the presidency of the Communist Political Association and who at present is a security index subject of the New York Office. The employee is married to [redacted] son of Earl Russell Browder. The employee security form reflects that [redacted] has been employed as a [redacted] at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, since November 15, 1954. She holds an indefinite appointment. [redacted]

The employee's mother-in-law, Irene Browder, wife of Earl Russell Browder, is a security index subject in the New York Office. Irene Browder was arrested by Immigration and Naturalization Service in September, 1952, for making false statements in connection with her naturalization in that she denied Communist Party affiliation. She at present is awaiting trial in Federal Court, New York City, on charges of Perjury. (39-878)

Bureau files reflect a closed Security Matter - C investigation in reference to the employee's husband, [redacted]. This investigation was initiated in March, 1946, and did not reveal any Communist Party membership, Communist Party front activity or frequent contacts with Communist Party members on the part of [redacted]. He was reported to have displayed Communist beliefs. This investigation reflects that [redacted] a not mathematician, was sponsored for membership in the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, New Jersey, by J. Robert Oppenheimer, a well-known Atomic Energy scientist who was declared a security risk in 1954 and whose Atomic Energy clearance was suspended. This information reflects that Oppenheimer extended an invitation to [redacted] before the vote of the Board of Directors was completed. [redacted] the vote, however, was against this appointment. [redacted]

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Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

cc: (1) Liaison Unit
(1) [redacted]
(1) [redacted]

At [redacted] 14 1955
JG: [redacted]

(7)

140-3298 - V
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87 FEB 28 1955

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Bureau files reflect information indicating that [] the employee, associated with her father-in-law, Earl Russell Browder, and was active and aided in collecting bail money in reference to the afore-mentioned arrest of her mother-in-law, Irene Browder. (116-248444)

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On December 30, 1954, the Liaison Unit orally advised G-2, Department of the Army, that an employee security form has been received on [] indicating employment with the Department of the Army. The Liaison Unit pointed out to G-2 that [] is the daughter-in-law of Earl Russell Browder. This information will be confirmed by letter which letter will request the Department of the Army to conduct foreign investigation in Vienna, Austria, in reference to the employee. This information was orally transmitted to Colonel E. L. Beauchamp.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That a full field investigation pursuant to Executive Order 10450 be initiated. The letter to the Field initiating this investigation is attached.

(2) That this memorandum be routed to the Liaison Unit, Domestic Intelligence Division for their information.

MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

January 6, 1955

MR. A. H. BELMONT

CORLISS LAMONT
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY
Bufile 61-5215

✓ EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURY
Bufile 40-3798

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/4/01 BY [redacted]

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The New York Division has requested authority to interview Earl Browder to ask him if Corliss Lamont was a member of the Communist Party. The Bureau has been conducting a perjury investigation of Lamont since he stated to the McCarthy Committee on September 23, 1953, that he was not and had never been a Communist Party member. Suitable witnesses necessary for a successful prosecution have not been located and the consensus of the sources contacted is that Lamont would have been a Communist Party "member at large" and as such known only to Browder, the General Secretary of the Communist Party.

The Lamont case is an important due to his international prominence as an apologist for Soviet Russia and Communism. He was openly defiant of the Senate Committee before which he was called to testify and has been indicted for Contempt of Congress. Because of this and because of the interest in the Lamont case expressed by the Department, it is felt that we should exhaust every possible lead in our efforts to determine whether Lamont was ever a Communist Party member.

Browder has been reported to us principally by Judge Robert Morris and George Sokolsky as being on the verge of talking to the FBI. In fact, in January 1954 arrangements were made by Jane Truslow Adams, reported former go-between for Browder and President Roosevelt, for Browder to be interviewed by New York Agents. Browder stalled pleading lack of time, ill health and other such excuses. In October 1954,

Attachment

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Baumgardner
Mr. Bagley

JJB:jdd
(7)

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NOT RECORDED
132 JAN 14 1955
INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

Judge Morris reported that Earl Browder was in a very much depressed state over the condition of his wife's health. O. John Rogge, former Department Attorney, requested of Morris that Browder not be pushed too much at that time due to his emotional stress and suffering. Rogge told Morris it would be a bad mistake to have Browder called before a Grand Jury then. On November 12, 1954, [] talked to Browder and reported that he is seriously distressed over the critical illness of his wife and that his concern is interfering with his powers of recollection and concentration. The opinion of Morris and Rogge, according to Morris, was apparently agreed with by George Sokolsky and [] namely, that any effort to get Browder to supply the Bureau with his knowledge of Communist activities at this time would be unwise.

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b7D

In this case, however, we are investigating a criminal violation. Our interview of Browder would be that of a potential witness. We would not be seeking his general cooperation. Rather, we would be requesting him to supply facts we believe to be known to him. New York would be instructed to point this out to him in a friendly, courteous but unequivocal manner.

It is believed that this interview would have two results. First, it may make the case against Lamont, and, second, it would settle the issue of Browder's cooperation that has been hanging fire too long.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to New York authorizing the interview of Earl Browder to establish whether Corliss Lamont was a member of the Communist Party.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

0-9a

cc - Mr. Bagley

AIRTEL

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

Transmit the following message to: JANUARY 12, 1955

SAC, NEW YORK (100-25780;100-25693)

CORLISS LAMONT, SECURITY MATTER - C, PERJURY, EARL RUSSELL BROWDER,
INTERNAL SECURITY - C, PERJURY. REURLET DATED DECEMBER 23, 1954, AND
BUREAU LETTER DATED JANUARY 7, 1955. IN VIEW OF DEATH OF BROWDER'S
WIFE ADVISE BUREAU WHETHER IN YOUR OPINION INTERVIEW SHOULD BE WITHHELD
TEMPORARILY AND IF SO WHEN WOULD BE PROPER TIME.

HOOVER

Bufiles 61-5215; ~~40-3798~~

YELLOW: Both subjects on SI. Interview of Browder to ascertain if
Lamont is or was CP member authorized *by me Bulet.*

JJB:eje

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/12/99 BY

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159 JAN 14 1955

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38 JAN 17 1955
SENT VIA

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)
 FROM : SAC, New York (100-25693)
 SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
 IS-C

DATE: 1/11/55

On 12/27/54. Mr. [REDACTED]

NYC,

furnished the following information:

The Fund for the Republic, an organization affiliated with the Ford Foundation, has a project underway tentatively called "The History of the Communist Movement in the United States." This project is going to be quite extensive, running to approximately 14 volumes, and is under the overall direction of CLINTON ROSSITER, a professor at Cornell University.

In connection with the research necessary for this undertaking, it is contemplated that EARL BROWDER will be contacted and his services as a consultant will be solicited. If BROWDER is willing to cooperate, he will be paid substantially for the information he furnishes.

FELIX MORROW, described as a former subversive, and friend of BROWDER, who is now Anti-Communist, is the individual who will attempt to get BROWDER to cooperate.

If BROWDER is willing to cooperate with the project, the interview will be conducted by MOSHE DECTER, described as "the ace interrogator in New York City" by Mr. [REDACTED].

RM

- 1 - NY (62-11509) (FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC) (7-2)
- 1 - NY(100-112646) (FORD FOUNDATION) (7-2)
- 1 - NY(100-0) (MOSHE DECTER) (12-14)
- 1 - NY (100-11273) (FELIX MORROW) (7-3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

CDS:TLS
 (7 copies)

DATE 5/12/99

RECORDED-11

JAN 18 3 03 PM '55 INDEXED-74

1 JAN 13 1955

FBI
 CENTRAL RECORDS SECTION

JAN 28 1955

b7D

b6
b7C

Letter to Director
NY 100-25693

Mr. [] stated that should BROWDER be interviewed, as a consultant, he would be in a position to obtain transcripts of the interviews, which he would then voluntarily be willing to furnish to the FBI.

b7D

Mr. [] also said that should the Bureau desire, he would be in a position to have BROWDER asked any questions this Bureau might desire.

Mr. [] was advised the FBI was not in a position to furnish him with any questions to be put to BROWDER, but that the Bureau would be glad to receive any information regarding BROWDER and or the results of the interviews he might obtain.

Mr. [] was cautioned to keep this matter confidential in so far as his furnishing the Bureau with any information, and he indicated he would do so.

This is being furnished to the Bureau for information purposes.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Vipert*

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER

DATE: January 11, 1955

Tolson ☒

Boardman ☒

Nichols ☒

Belmont ☒

Harbo ☒

Mohr ☒

Parsons ☒

Rosen ☒

Tamm ☒

Sizoo ☒

Winterrowd ☒

Tele. Room ☒

Holloman ☒

Gandy ☒

G.I.R. - 3

Hugh Morrow of the Saturday Evening Post called. Milton *Brown* Lehman, one of their writers, has heard some reports that Earl Browder is talking to the FBI and if this were so it occurred to the Saturday Evening Post that this might make a good series of articles. I told Morrow that you hear most anything these days and that we were not carrying on any relationship with Browder.

cc - Mr. Boardman

LBN:ptm
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/4/01 BY [redacted]

RECORDED-35

INDEXED-35

EX. - 109

55 JAN 11 1955

378
FBI

L.B. NICHOLS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

G. I. R. - 3

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Sizoo _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI, DE (65-175) A I R T E L

Transmit the following ~~teletype~~ message to: 1/25/55 AM, EST

DIRECTOR, FBI

EARL BROWDER; SM - C. ON JANUARY 24 LAST, DWIGHT HAMBORSKY, AUSA, EASTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN, DETROIT, ADVISED THAT [] CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE BOSTON DIVISION, PRESENTLY IN DETROIT TESTIFYING FOR IMMIGRATION & NATURALIZATION SERVICE, STATED TO HIM THAT HE, [] BELIEVED BROWDER AT THE PRESENT TIME MIGHT BE AMENABLE TO A CONTACT BY A GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY.

[] WAS PERSONALLY CONTACTED BY SA ROBERT A. MOFFATT. IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS CONCERNING HIS BASIS FOR THE AFOREMENTIONED STATEMENT, [] ADVISED AS FOLLOWS: IN VIEW OF THE RECENT DEATH OF BROWDER'S WIFE, [] FELT THAT HER DEATH REMOVED THE MAJOR DRAWBACK TO ANY POSSIBLE COOPERATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON BROWDER'S PART. [] STATED THAT FROM HIS OWN PERSONAL EXPERIENCE IN A LIKE SITUATION, HE BELIEVED THAT BROWDER WAS POSSIBLY AT THE PSYCHOLOGICAL POINT IN HIS LIFE WHERE HE WOULD BE AMENABLE TO A BUREAU INTERVIEW.

[] ALSO STATED THAT HE RECALLS IN A RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENT BROWDER HAD STATED THAT HE WAS NO LONGER A MEMBER OF THE CP. HOWEVER, [] POINTED OUT THAT FOR YEARS BROWDER HAS HAD NO VISIBLE

RAM:HLH
(10)
VIA - AM, REGISTERED

cc: 2 - Boston (1 [] -EARL BROWDER)(AM, REG.)
3 - New York [] 2-EARL BROWDER)(AM, REG.)

Mr. Belmont

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/2/88 BY

RECORDED - 40 - 3778 - 726

10 JAN 26 1955

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

PAGE 2 -

MEANS OF SUPPORT. HE RECALLED THAT SINCE BROWDER'S EXPULSION FROM THE CP AND HIS RETURN FROM U.S.S.R., HIS ONLY KNOWN EMPLOYMENT HAS BEEN THAT OF A BOOK SALESMAN. [] SPECULATED THAT POSSIBLY DURING BROWDER'S STAY IN RUSSIA, CP U.S.S.R. MADE AN AGREEMENT WITH HIM THAT FOR HIS SILENCE, CP U.S.S.R. WOULD SUBSIDIZE HIM FOR LIFE. [] ADDED THAT THE ABOVE WAS MERELY SPECULATION AS HE HAD NOTHING ADDITIONAL TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS BELIEF. [] ADVISED THAT HE HAD NOT MENTIONED THE ABOVE TO ANYONE OTHER THAN AUSA HAMBORSKY. ABOVE FOR INFORMATION AND ANY ACTION DEEMED DESIRABLE BY NEW YORK OR THE BUREAU.

b7D

MC INTIRE

END

CC: MR. BELMONT
~~AND SUPERVISOR~~
DOM. INTEL. DIVISION

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Best Copy Available

AIR-TEL

NY, NY 1/27/55

BUREAU

CORLISS LAMONT, SM-C; PERJURY, BUFILE 61-5215. RE DETROIT
AIR-TEL TO DIRECTOR 1/25/55 ENTITLED, "EARL BROWDER; SM-C."
BY LETTER DATED 1/13/55 THE NYO ADVISED THE BUREAU THAT THE
BUREAU APPROVED INTERVIEW WITH EARL BROWDER, IN THE CORLISS
LAMONT CASE WAS BEING HELD IN ABYSSANCE FOR 60 DAYS DUE TO THE
DEATH OF HIS WIFE, IRENE BROWDER. THE NYO IS STILL OF THE
OPINION THAT THE CONTEMPLATED INTERVIEW OF BROWDER SHOULD BE
DELAYED FOR THE 60 DAY PERIOD. AT THAT TIME, A REQUEST TO
INTERVIEW BROWDER WILL AGAIN BE SUBMITTED BY THE NYO. *OK*

KELLY

4- BUREAU
(1-BUFILE 40-379873)
1- NY 100-25693

Browning
1-10-37
NOT RECORDED
192 FEB 2 1955

7PM 50 V 30 8M 22

JEB:DMR (12-9) OF 12
100-25780

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/99 BY [REDACTED]

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 67C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: 2/10/55

FROM : L. B. Nichols ✓

SUBJECT:

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Sizoo	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

Robert Morris informed me of a conversation that he had with Jay Sourwine. Peyton Ford and James McInerney had been in to see Senator Eastland and had suggested to Senator Eastland that Earl Browder was ready to talk. Jay asked Morris about this.

Morris checked with both John Rogge and Philip Jaffe. Rogge and Jaffe reported back to Morris that Browder is brooding over his wife's death, he does not come out of the house, is not seeing people, and both Jaffe and Rogge stated that there was no chance in the world of getting Browder to talk at the present time.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/84 BY

EX-115
RECORDED - 28

40-379A-722

b6
b7c

UNRECORDED CC FILED IN

235 199
FEB 24 1955

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. E. V. Boardman

DATE: March 14, 1955

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: CORLISS LAMONT
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY
Bufile 61-5215

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURY
Bufile 40-3798

SYNOPSIS:

New York desires authority to interview Earl Browder concerning the Communist Party membership of Corliss Lamont. Bureau investigating Lamont for perjury since he denied Communist Party membership before McCarthy Committee. New York was granted authority to interview Browder by letter January 7, 1955. Browder's wife died January 8, 1955, and New York decided to cancel interview plans. New York again requests authority for same interview in same manner. New York points out Browder reported to be negotiating with "Fund for the Republic" which is tracing history of Communist Party movement in United States to furnish information to representatives of that fund. Browder will be paid by funds provided by Ford Foundation. Browder reported to have stated he does not wish to be interviewed by policemen.

RECOMMENDATION:

That New York be authorized to interview Earl Browder to establish whether Corliss Lamont was a member of the Communist Party since this is a logical interview in a criminal investigation over which this Bureau has jurisdiction and should be made regardless of Browder's personal opinions. Attached hereto is a letter from New York authorizing this interview.

NOT RECORDED

141 MAR 24 1955

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

cc Mr. Boardman
cc Mr. Belmont
cc Mr. Baumgardner
cc Mr. Bagley
JJB:dlj
(5)

12 MAR 23 1955

MAR 25 1955

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

DETAILS:

The New York Division requested authority to interview Earl Browder to ask him if Corliss Lamont was a member of the Communist Party. The Bureau has been conducting a perjury investigation of Lamont since he stated to the McCarthy Committee on September 23, 1953, that he was not and had never been a Communist Party member. Suitable witnesses necessary for a successful prosecution have not been located and the consensus of the sources contacted is that Lamont would have been a Communist Party "member at large" and as such known possibly to Browder the General Secretary of the Communist Party.

The Lamont case is important due to his international prominence as an apologist for Soviet Russia and Communism. He was openly defiant of the Senate Committee before which he was called to testify and has been indicted for contempt of Congress. Because of this and because of the interest in the Lamont case expressed by the Department it is felt that we should exhaust every possible lead in our efforts to determine whether Lamont was ever a Communist Party member.

Browder has been reported to us principally by Judge Robert Morris and columnist George Sokolsky as having been on the verge of talking to the FBI. In fact, in January, 1954, arrangements were made by Jane Truslow Adams, a reported former go between for Browder and President Roosevelt, for Browder to be interviewed by New York Agents. Browder stalled pleading lack of time, ill health and other such excuses. The most recent information from Judge Morris furnished in February, 1955, is that, in his opinion formed through conversations with O. John Rogge and Philip Jaffe, there is no chance of getting Browder to talk at the present time.

By letter dated January 7, 1955, New York was authorized to interview Browder concerning Lamont's possible Communist Party membership, however, on January 8, 1955, Browder's wife died and New York advised that they were cancelling their plans for the interview at that time.

An article dated March 10, 1955, New York has again requested authority to conduct this interview. They point out that Browder has been reported to be negotiating with the organization "Fund for the Republic" to cooperate with their representatives by being interviewed about various aspects of the Communist Party movement. Browder will be paid for his cooperation through funds made available by the Ford Foundation. Browder is reported to have made the statement that he does not wish to be interviewed by policemen. He wishes to talk only to scholars during his interviews. Browder is supposed to be meeting sometime during the week of March 14, 1955, to plan details of the interviews.

In this case we are investigating a criminal violation over which the Bureau has jurisdiction. Browder would be interviewed as a potential witness and we would not be seeking his general cooperation in Communist matters. New York is being instructed to point this out to him in a courteous but an unequivocal manner. It is believed that this interview would have two results. First it might make the case against Lamont and second it would settle the issue of Browder's cooperation with the Bureau that has been hanging fire too long.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, New York (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS-C

DATE: MAR 3 1955

Re Seattle letter to NY 2/21/55.

The above referenced letter indicates that from 6/14-19/54 the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, (Velde Committee) conducted hearings in Seattle investigating Communist activities in the Pacific Northwest area.

The following information concerning the subject was obtained from the transcript of the hearings and from a review of the indices of the Seattle Office. Several witnesses mentioned the subject's name in these hearings. However, due to his prominence, the testimony is not being set out in detail. It is indexed in the transcript as follows:

Part 1, pages 5979, 5980, 5984, 6004, 6010, 6024.
Part 2, 6065, 6069, 6100
Part 3, 6131, 6134, 6203-6205, 6211, 6214
Part 6, 6385, 6398, 6419
Part 7, 6466, 6486, 6488

The above listed section of the transcript of the HCUA hearings have been reviewed by the NYO and the pertinent portions thereof will be included in the next investigative report.

RM

JEH:GYE

RECORDED - 90
EX-103

40-3798-723
70 MAR 9 1955

370
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/99 BY [redacted]

MAR 14 1955

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b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICEA I R T E L
3/10/55

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU

CORLISS LAMONT, SM-C, PERJURY; EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, IS-C,
PERJURY. RENELET 12/23/54. BUREAU LET TO NY 1/27/55 ENTITLED
"CORLISS LAMONT, SM-C, PERJURY", AND RENELET TO BUREAU 1/11/55
CAPTIONED "EARL BROWDER, IS-C." ON 3/10/55, [REDACTED] WHOSE

IDENTITY SHOULD BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL, [REDACTED]

ADVISED NYO OF THE FOLLOWING RE BROWDER: THE ORGANIZATION, "FUND
FOR THE REPUBLIC" IS GOING AHEAD ON ITS PROJECT OF THE CP MOVEMENT
IN THE US AND BROWDER IS APPARENTLY GOING TO COOPERATE WITH REGARD
TO BEING INTERVIEWED ^{ABOUT} ~~BY THE~~ ^{CP} ~~VARIOUS~~ ^{MOVEMENT.} ASPECTS OF THE ~~WORK.~~ THE
FOLLOWING ARE THREE OF THE MEN WHO WILL BE INTERVIEWING BROWDER,
AS OF THE PRESENT TIME. FNU SHANNON, A PROFESSOR AT COLUMBIA
TEACHERS COLLEGE; DANIEL BELL, AN EDITOR FOR "FORTUNE" MAGAZINE;
MOSHE DECTER. BILL GOLDSMITH WILL ASSIST BELL IN HIS INTERVIEWS.
FELIX MORROW IS THE INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS BEEN CONTACTING BROWDER IN ORDER
TO GET HIS COOPERATION AND HE HAS BEEN ~~UNSUCCESSFUL~~ SO FAR. ACCORDING

⑤ - BUREAU (REGISTERED MAIL) (AIRMAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY)

- (1 - 61-5215)
- (1 - 40-3798)
- 1 - NY 100-25780
- 1 - NY 100-25693
- 1 - NY 62-11509 (FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-112616 (FORD FOUNDATION) (#7-2)

Special Agent in Charge
NY 100-112616 (#12-9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/99 BY [REDACTED]

40-3798-
NOT RECORDED
MAR 23 1955

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

b7D

b6
b7C

Best Copy Available

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

P A G E - TWO

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

TO STEIN, BROWDER'S ATTORNEY IS O. JOHN ROGGE. BROWDER, THROUGH ROGGE, HAS ASKED THAT HE BE PAID A RETAINER, AMOUNT NOT KNOWN AS YET, BY STEIN. HOWEVER, THE FORD FOUNDATION, THROUGH CLINTON ROSSITER, HAS NOT DETERMINED JUST HOW BROWDER IS TO BE PAID FOR HIS SERVICES. THE FORD FOUNDATION IS PROVIDING THE MONEY FOR THIS ENTIRE PROJECT. BROWDER HAS MADE THE STATEMENT THAT HE "DOES NOT WISH TO BE INTERVIEWED BY POLICEMEN" RATHER HE WISHES TO KEEP HIS PARTICIPATION ON A "SCHOLARLY BASIS" AND HE "WISHES TO ONLY TALK TO SCHOLARS DURING HIS INTERVIEWS." A MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR SOMETIME DURING THE WEEK OF 3/14/55 BETWEEN BROWDER AND THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES TO FIGURE OUT THE DETAILS OF THE FORTHCOMING INTERVIEWS. [REDACTED] ADVISED HE WILL KEEP THE FBI INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS. BUREAU AUTHORITY IS AGAIN REQUESTED TO INTERVIEW BROWDER. IF APPROVED, THE INTERVIEW WILL BE CONDUCTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS SET FORTH IN REBULET 1/7/55.

KELLY

Special Agent in Charge

cc Mr. Boardman
cc Mr. Belmont
cc Mr. Bagley
cc Mr. Baumgardner

SAC, New York (100-25780)
(100-25693)

March 18, 1955

Director, FBI (61-5215) ~~(40-3798)~~

CORLISS LAMONT
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURY

Reurairtel dated March 10, 1955, and reBulet dated January 7, 1955.

Authority to interview Earl Browder in the manner indicated in reBulet and for the purpose of determining whether Lamont was a Communist Party member is granted. This interview should be conducted by two experienced Agents familiar with Browder's background and the facts on the Lamont case.

The interview should be confined to the issue of Lamont's Communist Party membership. Naturally you would accept any other information that Browder might care to give but no statements should be made to urge or encourage Browder to talk about matters other than the specific issue. Your position of investigating a criminal violation should be made completely clear to Browder. Upon completion of the interview you should promptly advise the Bureau of Browder's attitude. A report reflecting the results of the interview should be sent without delay accompanied by a cover letter containing the Agents' opinions and evaluations of Browder and his reactions.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Reference memo Belmont to Boardman dated March 16, 1955, captioned "Corliss Lamont, Security Matter - C, Bufile 61-6215."

JJB:d1j

(9)

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/99 BY [redacted]



b6
b7C

60 MAR 29 1955

AIRTEL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NEW YORK, 3/24/55

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

BUREAU

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WAS; ISC, PERJURY. RENYAIRTEL TO BUREAU,
3/10/55, ENTITLED "CORLISS LAMONT, SMC, PERJURY; EARL RUSSELL
BROWDER, ISC, PERJURY." [REDACTED] (KEEP IN STRICT CONFIDENCE),

[REDACTED] ADVISED NYO OF THE FOLLOWING ON 3/23/55.

b7D

[REDACTED] HAS BEEN ABLE TO GET THE FOLLOWING INFO FROM PHILIP JAFFE.
JAFFE APPARENTLY IS ACTING AS BROWDER'S PRINCIPAL ADVISOR WITH
REGARD TO BROWDER BEING CONTACTED BY THE NUMEROUS INDIVIDUALS AND
ORGANIZATIONS DESIROUS OF USING HIS KNOWLEDGE OF COMMUNISM. BROWDER
CAN BEST BE APPROACHED FOR INTERVIEW WITH THE APPEAL THAT "HE WOULD
BE HELPING PEOPLE UNDERSTAND WHAT WENT WRONG WITH THE LEFT-WING
MOVEMENT IN THE US." BROWDER THUS FAR STILL DESIRES ALL QUESTIONS
PUT TO HIM DURING INTERVIEW BE FIRST PLACED IN WRITING. BROWDER
DOES NOT WISH TO BE PLACED IN A POSITION WHERE HE WILL FEEL HE IS
"AN INFORMER." THEODORE DRAPER, WHO IS WRITING A BOOK ON COMMUNISM
IN THE US, HAS HAD EXTENSIVE INTERVIEWS WITH BROWDER AND BROWDER

- 3 - Bureau (40-3798)(AMSD)
1 - NY 62-11509 (FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)(7-2)
1 - NY 100-55794 (PHILIP JAFFE)

JEH:kdd (12-9)
100-25693

RECORDED-35

INDEXED-35

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M Per

MAR 25 1955

Mr. Belmont

EX-105 INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/23/84 BY [REDACTED]

1425,538

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b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AIRTEL

PAGE TWO

NY 100-25693

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

HAS FURNISHED HIM WITH MUCH VALUABLE INFO. ALL THE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE WORKING ON THE CP HISTORY WITH THE "FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC" ARE GOING TO HOLD A MEETING AT ITHACA, NY, 4/1/55, AT WHICH TIME FINAL PLANS FOR THE WORK WILL BE IRONED OUT. BROWDER WANTS IT UNDERSTOOD THAT IF HE IS RETAINED AS A CONSULTANT THAT HIS SERVICES WILL BE USED OVER A LENGTHY PERIOD OF TIME. BROWDER FEARS HE WILL ONLY BE USED FOR A SHORT TIME AND THEN BE LET GO, THUS RESULTING IN HIS NOT REALIZING ANY GREAT AMOUNT OF COMPENSATION. [REDACTED] HAS LET BROWDER KNOW THAT EVEN THOUGH THE PRESENT PROJECT SHOULD TERMINATE SOONER THAN EXPECTED, HE WILL BE ABLE TO FIND FURTHER WORK FOR HIM ON SOME OTHER PROJECT. BROWDER IS WRITING AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND IS BEGINNING TO FEAR THAT IF HE GIVES ALL HIS INFO TO OTHER PEOPLE WHO ARE WRITING BOOKS, THE SALE OF HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY WILL BE JEOPARDIZED.

b7D

KELLY

*Send substance to
A. J. P. Rogers*

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Bagley

The Attorney General

April 1, 1955

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURY
FBI File 40-3798

12-14-01
CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1
(EJ 15.2 PER OGA LTR 12-16-01)

b6
b7C

EX-125

A source of unknown reliability, who stated that he is in contact with Philip Jaffe, advised that Philip Jaffe is apparently acting as Browder's principal advisor with regard to Browder's being contacted by the numerous individuals and organizations desirous of using his knowledge of Communism. Browder can best be approached for interview with the appeal that "he would be helping people understand what went wrong with the left-wing movement in the United States." He still desires all questions first be put in writing. He does not wish to be placed in a position of feeling himself "an informer."

Theodore Draper, who is writing a book on Communism, is reported to have had extensive interviews with Browder and to have received much valuable information from him. The "Fund for the Republic," an organization established in 1952 by a grant from the Ford Foundation, has contacted Browder to use his services as a consultant for the comprehensive history of American Communism which that organization is compiling. All the individuals working on this history are supposed to hold a meeting at Ithaca, New York, April 1, 1955, at which time final plans for the work will be ironed out. Browder is concerned about his compensation for the consultant position and feels he will be used for a short time only. Also he is writing an autobiography and feels that if he gives all his information to others who are writing books the of his autobiography will be curtailed.

The above is sent to you for your information

2cc - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

2cc - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

NOTE ON YELLOW (See Page 2)

JIR:idd
(255)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

MAILED 2
APR 4 1955
COMM-FBI

RECEIVED
1 - 3:01 PM '55
RECORDING ROOM

JTB
GMA
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Bureau authorized interview of Browder in Corliss Lamont perjury case by letter dated March 16, 1955.

[redacted] is connected with the American Committee for Cultural Freedom (ACCF) and is known to have been Executive Director in 1954. September 1953 letter head of the ACCF reflects that it is affiliated with the Congress for Cultural Freedom. "Time," October 5, 1953, reported headquarters of Congress in Paris, is "devotedly anti-Communist." [redacted]

b7D

b3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRTEL

NEW YORK, NY, 4/6/55

BUREAU

CORLISS LAMONT; SM-C; PERJURY - LUFIL 60-5215. REBULET
3/18/55. EARL BROWDER WAS INTERVIEWED THIS DATE AT HIS
RESIDENCE, APARTMENT 3F, 7 HIGHLAND PLACE, YONKERS, NY, BY
SAS NEIL P. DIVERS AND JAMES F. MARTIN. BROWDER WAS ADVISED
THAT THE AGENTS WERE CONDUCTING AN INVESTIGATION IN REGARD TO A
POSSIBLE VIOLATION OF FEDERAL STATUTES ON THE PART OF CORLISS
LAMONT AND HIS COOPERATION WAS DESIRED INSOFAR AS ANY KNOWLEDGE
HE MIGHT HAVE REGARDING LAMONT'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE CP AT ANY
TIME. BROWDER STATED THAT HE IS PRESENTLY UNDER INDICTMENT
ON CHARGES OF PERJURY AND DID NOT DESIRE TO BECOME INVOLVED.
HE SAID THAT HE FEELS CERTAIN LAMONT IS WELL ABLE TO TAKE CARE
OF HIMSELF AND HE KNOWS LAMONT TO BE A VERY CAREFUL MAN IN
ALL DEALINGS. BROWDER REFUSED TO ENTER INTO ANY DISCUSSIONS
REGARDING HIS KNOWLEDGE OF LAMONT'S ASSOCIATES OR ACTIVITIES.
HIS ATTITUDE THROUGHOUT THE INTERVIEW WAS FRIENDLY AND
COURTEOUS. HE SPOKE WILLINGLY AND FREELY OF HIS OWN ACCORD.
AMONG THE TOPICS THAT HE MENTIONED WERE THE FOLLOWING:

- 3 - BUREAU (REGISTERED)
- 1 - BUREAU (EARL RUSSELL BROWDER) (40-3798) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - NY 100-25693 (EARL RUSSELL BROWDER)

JFM:POL/CCP
100-25780

ORIGINAL--DIRECTOR

140-3772-✓
NOT RECORDED
167 APR 20 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/99 BY

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6 -
b7C

PAGE TWO

HE HAD BEEN HARRASSED BY THE FBI CONSTANTLY AND AS EARLY AS 1922 WHEN AT THE FIRST CP CONVENTION "AN FBI AGENT", WHO LATER TESTIFIED, HAD CAST THE DECIDING VOTE TO PLACE THE CP IN AN UNDERGROUND OR ILLEGAL STATUS; THE FBI THROUGH INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS HAD IMPLANTED FALSE IDEAS IN THE MINDS OF PROMINENT PERSONS IN MOSCOW CONCERNING BROWDER'S LOYALTY; AND THEREBY CAUSED HIS REMOVAL AS HEAD OF THE CP, USA; FURTHER THAT THE FBI HAD EFFECTED HIS EXPULSION THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF AGENTS WHO WERE PARTY MEMBERS; BROWDER RECALLED THAT ON ONE OCCASION IN EARLY 40'S HE FURNISHED CERTAIN DOCUMENTS TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AT THE LATTER'S REQUEST. ON THE FOLLOWING DAY ROOSEVELT CALLED BROWDER AND THANKED HIM FOR THE DOCUMENTS AND MENTIONED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED COPIES OF THE SAME DOCUMENTS THE PREVIOUS DAY FROM THE FBI. BROWDER ADVISED THAT THESE PARTICULAR DOCUMENTS MUST HAVE BEEN TAKEN FROM HIS DESK UNKNOWN TO HIM. BROWDER STATED THAT HE HAD BEEN SUBPOENAED BEFORE THE SENATE INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEE CONCERNING OWEN LATTIMORE AND HAD ANSWERED APPROXIMATELY 250 QUESTIONS TO THE BEST OF HIS

PAGE THREE

ABILITY, ALTHOUGH MANY OF THE QUESTIONS WERE ^{"IRRELEVANT"} ~~"IRREVELANT"~~.
HE STATED THAT IN SPITE OF HIS BEST EFFORTS HE WAS STILL
HELD IN CONTEMPT AND SPENT ONE YEAR IN DEFENDING HIMSELF.
HE SAID THAT HE CONSIDERS THAT FBI AGENTS ARE HONORABLE;
HOWEVER, HE FEELS THAT ANY COOPERATION ON HIS PART WOULD LEAD
TO PUBLIC TESTIMONY AND POSSIBLE INVOLVEMENT IN CONTEMPT
OR PERJURY CHARGES AGAINST HIM. REPORT FOLLOWS.

KELLY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc-Belmont
Bagley

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

April 15, 1955

Director, FBI

CORLISS LAMONT
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY
FBI FILE 61-5215

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURY
FBI FILE 40-3798

*Declassified by
GTT 12-28-76*

Agents of this Bureau interviewed Earl Browder regarding his knowledge of Communist Party membership on the part of Corliss Lamont. The interview was made in an effort to establish whether Lamont's denial of membership in the Communist Party before the McCarthy Committee in New York, September 23, 1953, was perjurious. Browder said that he is presently under indictment on charges of perjury and did not desire to become involved. He said he feels certain that Lamont is well able to take care of himself and he knows Lamont to be a very careful man in all dealings. Although Browder's attitude was friendly and courteous, he refused to enter into any discussions regarding his knowledge of Lamont's associations or activities.

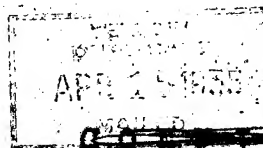
Browder volunteered the following observations concerning his expulsion from the Communist Party wherein he concludes that the FBI was responsible for his difficulties. He stated that he had been harassed by the FBI constantly, that as early as 1922 at the first Communist Party convention "an FBI Agent," who later testified, cast the deciding vote to place the Communist Party in an underground or illegal status. Browder said that the FBI through international connections had implanted false ideas in the minds of prominent persons in Moscow concerning Browder's loyalty and thereby caused his removal as head of the Communist Party, USA. He said that the FBI had effected his expulsion through the efforts of Agents who were Party members. Browder recalled that on one occasion in the early 1940's he furnished certain documents to President Roosevelt at the latter's request. On the following day Roosevelt called Browder and thanked him for

JJB:ph
(6)

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Tolson _____
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Belmont _____
Carbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

60 APR 20 1955



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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the documents and mentioned that he had received copies of these same documents the previous day from the FBI. Browder said that these particular documents must have been taken from his desk unknown to him.

Browder said that he had been subpoenaed before a Senate Investigating Committee in the Owen Lattimore case and had answered approximately 250 questions to the best of his ability although many of the questions were irrelevant. He said that in spite of this he was still held in contempt and spent one year defending himself.

He said that he considers FBI Agents honorable; however, he feels that any cooperation on his part would lead to public testimony and possible involvement in contempt or perjury charges against him.

The above is sent to you for your information.

J. Bagley

SAC, New York (100-25780) (100-25693)

April 8, 1955

Director, FBI (61-5215) (40-3798)

CORLISS LAMONT
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURY

Re Bureau letter dated March 16, 1955.

You should submit immediately the results
of the authorized interview of Earl Browder.

JJB:hif
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/99 BY

78 APR 12 1955

Tolson _____
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Holloman _____
Gandy _____

67 APR 15 1955

DUPLICATE

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

Director, FBI (61-5215)

5/2/55

SAC, New York (100-25780)

CORLISS LAMONT
SM-C; PERJURY

Rerep of SA JOHN DAVIS ROBERSON, dated as above at New York, the original and four copies of which are enclosed.

EARL BROWDER was interviewed on 4/6/55 at his residence, Apartment 3F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, by SA's NEIL P. DIVERS and JAMES F. MARTIN. BROWDER was advised that the agents were conducting an investigation in regard to a possible violation of Federal Statutes on the part of CORLISS LAMONT. He was advised that his cooperation was desired insofar as any knowledge he might have regarding LAMONT's membership in the Communist Party at any time. BROWDER advised that he is presently under indictment on charges of Perjury and that he did not wish to become involved in any way. He then stated that he feels certain that LAMONT is well able to take care of himself as he knows LAMONT to be a very careful man in all of his dealings. BROWDER refused to enter into any discussions regarding his knowledge of LAMONT's associates or activities.

Without any prompting from the interviewing agents, he spoke freely and willingly of his own accord, and among the topics he mentioned were the following:

1. BROWDER stated that he has been harassed by the FBI constantly and as early as 1922, when at the first Communist Party Convention held in Michigan, "an FBI Agent," who later testified in behalf of the government, had cast the deciding vote to place the Communist Party in an underground or illegal status.

2. BROWDER said that it was his opinion that the FBI, through international connections, had implanted false ideas in the minds of prominent persons in Moscow, and was responsible for his removal as head of the Communist Party, USA. Further, that the FBI had effected his expulsion through the efforts of agents who were planted as members of the Party.

3. BROWDER stated that when he was head of the CP, it was an open organization and had very little to conceal, although this is not the situation as of today, "as your organization well knows." He stated that he does not approve of the CP, USA, as it

Encs. (5)
RM

① - Bureau (40-3798)(RM)
1 - NY 100-25693

JDR:LEJ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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164 MAY 4 1955

106 MAY 18 1955
5/12/99

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b7c

Letter to Director
NY 100-25780

exists today and considers that it is of no value to the U. S. or the Soviet Union. BROWDER recalled that on one occasion in the early 1940's, he furnished certain documents to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT at the latter's request. On the following day, ROOSEVELT called him by phone and thanked him for the documents; however, he had received copies of the same documents on the previous day from the FBI. BROWDER advised that these particular documents must have been taken from his desk unknown to him; in fact, he always had suspicions that there may have been an FBI Agent employed in his office.

4. BROWDER further stated that he had been subpoenaed before the Senate Investigative Committee concerning OWEN LATTIMORE and had answered approximately 250 questions to the best of his knowledge and ability, although many of the questions were irrelevant. He stated that in spite of his best efforts to cooperate, he was still held in contempt and spent one year in defending himself. BROWDER stated that he is 64 years of age, is tired, and has been trying to spend the remaining years of his life, quietly. He said that he considers himself "an unsuccessful, retired politician."

5. He said that he considers FBI agents are honorable and intelligent, and are doing a good job; however, he feels that any cooperation on his part would lead to public testimony and possible involvement in contempt or perjury charges against him.

6. BROWDER was friendly and courteous throughout the interview and at no time did he show any resentment. He did indicate that his life is rather difficult financially, inasmuch as no one will give him steady employment and his speaking engagements have been drastically curtailed. He states that he is a lonely man with very few friends, and his only means of a livelihood is what he earns from a few odd bookkeeping jobs which he is forced to do from his home.

BROWDER shook hands with the agents, wished them luck and stated that he would not hesitate to call the FBI if he were able to furnish any information concerning the security of the country--his country.

Letter to Director
NY 100-25780

The interviewing agents believe that BROWDER possesses a strong desire to remain apart from any judicial proceedings, in view of his comments that his past efforts resulted in his becoming personally involved. There is, likewise, no basis for the belief that BROWDER might be willing to furnish information on a confidential basis, since his present attitude, while apparently friendly and respectful, does indicate a lack of cooperation on his part. It is recommended that no consideration be given to a reinterview of BROWDER at this time for the purpose of securing general information in his possession.

with form 10-28-54
40-3798

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22c

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor

Room

Subj:

Browder, Carl Russell

☐ Exact Spelling

☐ All References

☐ Subversive Ref.

☐ Mail File

☐ Restricted to Locality of

Searchers

Initial 8-101

Date 5-18-53

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

1 40-3798 I 10-28-54

Browder, Carl

1 100-344948 (encl)

[redacted]

(621)

40-3798-A Wm. Sta

2-17-41

40-3798-2

100-12002-510 p 263 264

265, 266, 267 Sum 7-21-51

100-267360-920X1 p 2

Sum 12-46

[redacted] encl

p14 Sum 10-26-52

100-202838-176 encl

p 63

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-18-01 BY

Initialed

[redacted]

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22c

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor

Room

Subj: Browder, Earl Russell

☐ Exact Spelling

Searchers

☐ All References

Initial 1-101

☐ Subversive Ref.

Date 5-18-55

☐ Mail File

☐ Restricted to Locality of

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

Browder, Earl
61-7582-2521 encl 059
79, 6203, 6204, 6100, 6101,
6134, 5980, 5984, 6205,
6214, 6024, 6065, 6069,
6004, 6010
✓ 61-7582-2547 p 6794
61-1292-1032 p 21, 23, 25,
31; 1177 encl. p 18, 40,
60, 75, 94 p 2-101
61-7582-2419 encl p
4540, 4552
61-6629-174 1-101
39-878- Sum 5-27-44
✓ 40-3798-631 Sum 10-15-52
595 Sum 6-21-51

Initialed

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Browder, Earl

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 5-18 Searcher Initial 5139FILE NUMBERSERIAL100-165052-31100-413777-1 p12100-362941-14 p27100-372999-13 p12100-364413-236 p8,16100-368040-5100-382326-42100-404825-7100-373704-12100-372058-36100-54053-50100-415961-120 p35100-40249-25101-3616-197 p12100-38759-22 p3261-7559-12014 (12-12-41)
(Summ)

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Browder, Earl Russell

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 5/18 Searcher Initial 5-130FILE NUMBERSERIALBrowder, Earl140-6436-28 Enc P#4100-375988-1041 EncP#248;100-208903-20100-167425-67100-146964-2077 EncP#85,97100-14646-436 Enc P#141

b3

100-69266-465 P#3Browder, Earl Incorporated100-344048

MAILED

MAY 27 1955

NAME CHECK

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May 26, 1955

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
Born: May 20, 1891
Wichita, Kansas

A review of the records of this Bureau has disclosed that the Local Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in New York City is being furnished on a current basis with the pertinent information developed concerning the captioned individual. You are referred to the case entitled "Earl Russell Browder; Internal Security - C; Perjury." Specifically your attention is called to the reports of:

Special Agent James E. Hanlon, dated
October 28, 1954, at New York City

Special Agent Gustav S. Abrandt, dated
April 28, 1954, at New York City

Special Agent William T. Cook, dated
September 3, 1953, at New York City

Special Agent Dale H. Williams, dated
November 6, 1952, and June 30, 1952,
at New York City

Special Agent J. Robinson Field, dated
August 29, 1951, May 14, 1951, March 9,
1951, and July 30, 1950, at New York City

In addition to the foregoing, you are referred to information which has been furnished to the Local Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in New York City pursuant to a request dated June 15, 1949, and August 16, 1949, concerning Raissa or Irene Browder, A-4280774, the spouse of the captioned individual.

(39-0-35436; 39-0-36005)

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Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Orig to INS, NY, NY

Req rec'd: 5/17/55

J. E. Foley/jm

(4)

Note: The above has been dictated
in accordance with advise

of Mr. Mooney

RECORDED-46

INDEXED-46

EX-126

It should be pointed out, however, that the afore-mentioned individual died at her residence at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, on January 8, 1955.

(39-878)

In addition, you may desire to consult the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities for information relating to Earl Russell Browder.

(61-7582 serial 2521)

Recently this Bureau attempted to interview Browder in an unrelated matter. Although his attitude was friendly and courteous, Browder refused to enter into any discussions and said that he is presently under indictment on charges of perjury and did not desire to become involved. Other information coming to the attention of this Bureau has indicated that Browder is brooding over his wife's death and is undergoing considerable emotional disturbance.

(40-3798 section 21)

The foregoing information is furnished to you as a result of your request for an FBI file check and is not to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearance of the individual involved. This information is furnished for your use and should not be disseminated outside of your agency.

Letter to Bureau

It is noted that a pencil notation indicates one copy of the report of SA (A) DALE H. WILLIAMS dated 6/30/52, at New York, was sent to the United States Attorney, SDNY, on 7/31/52.

It will also be noted that in attributing the information in the report to GIBARTI, considerable grammatical changes were made on pages 8 and 9 for purposes of clarity.

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

5/27/55

FROM:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS - C

Rebulet to NY 3/24/55, captioned, [REDACTED] "ISR," which signified the Bureau desired that immediate steps be taken to correct the previous characterization of [REDACTED] in all reports and letters prepared in the past. Rebulet directed that in all instances information furnished by [REDACTED] should be attributed to [REDACTED] by name. He should be characterized as [REDACTED] whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished both reliable and unreliable information." Rebulet additionally instructed that the characterization be inserted on all copies of the communication in ink, noting the date of change and the initials of the person making the change.

b7D

In accordance with the above, the following communication has been changed in the NYO to properly attribute the information to [REDACTED] by name and characterization:

b7D

(Rpt., Letter, Airtel, Etc.)	(Date)	(Agent's Name)	(Place Where Made)	(Page Numbers)	(T-Symbol)
Report Serial 610	6/30/52	SA DALE H. WILLIAMS (A)	NY	1,8,9	T-6

Where this communication was a report, the information corresponding to the T-symbol number for [REDACTED] on the informant page has been marked "Delete"

b7D

It is requested that the Bureau and all interested offices who receive copies of the communication make changes on all copies in their possession.

It is to be noted that copies of this communication were disseminated locally to the following NY agencies. USA, SDNY
INS, NY

b7D

These agencies have been advised by separate letter of [REDACTED] new characterization and they have been advised that they may desire to change their copy of the communication accordingly.

It is noted that a copy of the above communication was disseminated locally to none. It is requested that the Office notify this agency in writing, making reference to the communication which has been changed, that [REDACTED] credibility cannot be evaluated since he is known to have furnished both reliable and unreliable information and the agency may desire to change the copy of the communication in its possession accordingly.

b7D

RM

cc -

1 - Bufile 61-6620

1 - NY [REDACTED]

RECORDED-45

EX-116

RWC:CAT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/99 BY [REDACTED]

20 JUN 1 1955

INSEC

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b7C

cc - Mooney

Mr. Armando di Girolamo
Chief
Records Administration Branch

June 15, 1955

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
FBI File 40-3798 - 727

RECORDED - 63

Reference is made to report of Special Agent Dale H. Williams dated June 30, 1952, at New York concerning the captioned subject, a copy of which was previously furnished to you.

On pages 8 and 9 of referenced report, information is set forth attributed to Confidential Informant T-6. For your information, this informant is [redacted]

b7D

[redacted]
whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished both reliable and unreliable information.

You may desire to make appropriate notations on your copy of this report.

2cc - Commissioner
Immigration and Naturalization Service

WMM:mk
(6)

[redacted]
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/5/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

JUN 17 1955

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- NY, NY 5/10/55

Air-tel

Transmit the following Teletype message to: Bureau ✓

EARL RUSSELL⁰ BROWDER, was
IS-C; Perjury

Re NY airtel, 3/24/55.

mb
[redacted] NYC, advised 5/10/55 that during the past two weeks the negotiations for BROWDER'S services as outlined in re airtel have been completed. BROWDER is being interviewed by THEODORE DRAPER and has proved to be cooperative to the extent that he will talk about Communist theory, but he will not give any specific information regarding the CP movement or about individuals.

///
[redacted] said he believed ^{as} interviews continue BROWDER will prove to be more cooperative as to topics he will be willing to discuss. [redacted] said he did not know as yet the amount of the compensation BROWDER is receiving. [redacted] said he will keep NYO advised of developments.

KELLY

- ③ - Bureau (40-3798) (AMSD)
1 - New York (62-11509) (Funder for the Republic) (#7-2)

*90-5000 6/1/55
advised by
transcription*

RECORDED - *rm*

Mr. Belmont

27 MAY 12 1955

CDS:LHS (#12-9)
100-25693

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/99 BY [redacted]

INT SEC

b6
b7C

63 MAY 20 1955

Approved _____ Sent _____ M. Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

8/2/55

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWLER, was
IS-C

Rebulet to NY 3/24/55, captioned [] IS-R," which signified the Bureau desired that immediate steps be taken to correct the previous characterization of [] in all reports and letters prepared in the past. Rebulet directed that in all instances information furnished by [] should be attributed to [] by name. He should be characterized as [] whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished both reliable and unreliable information." Rebulet additionally instructed that the characterization be inserted on all copies of the communication in ink, noting the date of change and the initials of the person making the change.

b7D

In accordance with the above, the following communication has been changed in the NYO to properly attribute the information to [] by name and characterization:

(Rpt., Letter, Airtel, Etc.)	(Date)	(Agent's Name)	(Place Where Made)	(Page Nos.)	(T-Symbol)
------------------------------	--------	----------------	--------------------	-------------	------------

Report

8/29/51

SA J. ROBINSON
FIELD

New York

7,8

T-5

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/12/88 BY []

Where this communication was a report, the information corresponding to the T-symbol number for [] on the informant page has been marked "Deleted."

It is requested that the Bureau and all interested offices who received copies of the communication make changes on all copies in their possession.

It is to be noted that copies of this communication were disseminated locally to the following NY agencies:

USA, SDNY

INS, New York

These agencies have been advised by separate letter of [] new characterization and they have been advised that they may desire to change their copy of the communication accordingly.

It is noted that a copy of the above communication was disseminated locally to none. It is requested that the Office notify this agency in writing, making reference to the communication which has been changed, that [] credibility cannot be evaluated since he is known to have furnished both reliable and unreliable information and the agency may desire to change the copy of the communication in its possession accordingly.

cc -

1 - Bufile 61-6629

1 - []
RWC:HAF1 - NY 100-14205

RECORDED - 49

40-3798-729

NO JUN. 3 1955

INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Letter to Director, FBI
NY 100-25693

It will be noted that by letter dated 9/13/51, the Bureau advised the NYO to furnish copies of the report of SA J. ROBINSON FIELD to Immigration and Naturalization Service, New York City, and to the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York.

Director, FBI (61-5215)

1/13/55

SAC, New York (100-25786)

CORLIS LAMONT
SM - C; PERJURY

⁶
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS - C; PERJURY

ReBulet 1/7/55 and NYlet to Bureau 12/23/54.

In above referenced Bureau letter NY was granted permission to interview EARL BROWDER concerning LAMONT. However, on 1/8/55 BROWDER'S wife died. It is known that BROWDER was very devoted to his wife and a review of his case file revealed that she has been under indictment for deportation since 1952, although her case was removed from the Court docket 7/16/54. EARL BROWDER is still under indictment for deportation.

In view of the circumstances, it is not believed the present would be a propitious time to interview BROWDER, therefore, the NYO will hold the interview of BROWDER in abeyance for sixty days, at which time a request for authority to interview BROWDER will again be submitted.

RM

- 2- Bureau (40-3798) (BROWDER)
- 1- NY (100-25693) (BROWDER)

JAN 18 1955

JDR:POL
(6)

RECORDED
INDEXED
DATE 5/12/99 BY

b6
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Mr. Armando di Girolamo
Chief
Records Administration Branch

cc - Mooney

June 15, 1955

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
FBI File 40-3798 - 729

RECORDED

X-112

Reference is made to report of Special Agent J. Robinson Field dated August 29, 1951, at New York, concerning the captioned subject, a copy of which was previously made available to you. Your attention is directed to pages 7 and 8 of referenced report wherein information is set forth attributed to Confidential Informant T-5. For your information, this informant is [redacted] b7D

[redacted] whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished both reliable and unreliable information.

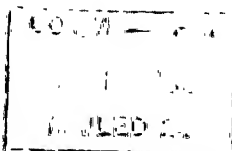
You may desire to make appropriate notations on your copy of this report.

2cc - Commissioner
Immigration and Naturalization Service

WMM:mk
(6)

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____

Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____



JUN 27 1955

4-11 (2-10-55)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

, 1955

TO:

<input type="checkbox"/> Director	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Sizoo, 5744
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tolson, 5744	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Gandy, 5633
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Boardman, 5736	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Holloman, 5633
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Belmont, 1742	<input type="checkbox"/> Records Section
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Harbo, 5256	<input type="checkbox"/> Pers. Records, 6631
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mohr, 5517	<input type="checkbox"/> Reading Room, 5531
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Parsons, 7621	<input type="checkbox"/> Mail Room, 5533
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Rosen, 5706	<input type="checkbox"/> Teletype, 5644
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tamm, 4130 IB	<input type="checkbox"/> Code Room, 4642
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Keay, 1742	<input type="checkbox"/> Mechanical, B-114
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nichols, 5640	<input type="checkbox"/> Supply Room, B-118
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. McGuire, 5642	<input type="checkbox"/> Tour Room, 5625
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Wick, 5634	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Lurz
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. DeLoach, 5636	<input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. Marsh
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Morgan, 5625	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss McNally
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Jones, 4236	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Mathers
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Leonard 6222 IB	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Carter
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Waikart, 7204	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Cosart
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Eames, 7206	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Wherry, 5537	
<input type="checkbox"/> See Me	<input type="checkbox"/> Note & return
<input type="checkbox"/> For your info	<input type="checkbox"/> For appropriate action

I think we should
go back and
ask why it
such a case

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/12/01 BY [redacted]

L. B. Nichols
Room 5640, Ext. 691

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b7C

5-18-55

To: Mr. Waikant
From: J. B. Engelstad
Subject: Unusual work

Mr. Nichols

On 5-17-55 we received a regular agency name check form (G-135) from Immigration and Naturalization (New York office) on EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, former General Chairman, CP, USA, although the form does not indicate his former CP affiliation. Purpose of request is indicated as "Possible Witness or Informant". His address is given as 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, N.Y., Apt. 3F. Employment listed as "Self employed"; occupation, "Writer & Journalist". Spouse listed as "Irene (deceased)". Mr. John Foley, who handled INS name checks in the Name Check Section, has been advised.

The latest New York report in file is dated 10-28-54. Since there are close to 10,000 file references on Browder, we have limited ^{visiting refs.} the approximately 70 references dated subsequent to the last report. Search has been completed and the form has been sent to the File Review Unit.

jbe/

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/12/01 BY

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: June 7, 1955

FROM : R. R. ROACH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/13/01 BY [redacted]

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	-b6
Harbo	_____
Mohr	-b7C
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: NAME CHECK REQUEST FROM
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE (INS)
ON EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

In an informal memorandum from Mr. Engelstad to Mr. Waikart, dated 5/18/55, it was pointed out that on 5/17/55 the Bureau received a regular agency name check form (G-135) from the New York office of INS on Earl Russell Browder, former General Chairman, Communist Party, USA. It was pointed out that the purpose of the request was indicated as "Possible Witness or Informant." Mr. Nichols noted on a routing slip, "I think we should go back and ask why in such a case."

This question was taken up with Mr. Edward Morgan, Investigations Division, INS, on 5/24/55 by SA D. J. Sullivan, Liaison Section. After checking the records at Central Headquarters, INS, Morgan stated that the answer could not be located there, and that he would have to contact the New York office. On 6/7/55 Morgan advised that the New York office of INS had informed Central Headquarters that they contemplated making a contact with Browder in an effort to use him as a possible informant or as a possible witness in some of the deportation hearings. The name check request was submitted in order to ascertain the latest information concerning Browder prior to making the initial contact with him.

In response to this name check request, the Name Check Unit of the Bureau has advised that they informed INS that INS has been furnished information in the Browder case on a current basis. INS was further referred to information furnished that Service concerning the deceased wife of Browder. INS was also advised that Browder's wife had died in January of this year; that Bureau attempts to interview Browder had met with negative results even though Browder was courteous to the interviewing Agents at all times. Browder refused to talk; stated that he was under indictment and did not wish to become involved. It was further pointed out to INS that Browder at the present time was brooding over the recent death of his wife.

ACTION:

For information.

DJS:pyp (7)

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Nichols

1 - Mr. Waikart

1 - Mr. Foley

1 - Section Chief

1 - D. J. Sullivan

RECORDED - 67

11 JUN 10 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 6/27/55	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/6,27,28;5/2,10,11,18,19,23,24/55	REPORT MADE BY JAMES E. HANLON mxg
TITLE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C; PERJURY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Subject resides apartment 3F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY. Subject self-employed at residence. Subject's wife, IRENE BROWDER, died 1/8/55. Subject's perjury trial still pending USDC, SDNY. Additional prior CP activities reported. (u) 2-

- P* -

DETAILS:

BACKGROUND

Residence

T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 6, 1955, that EARL BROWDER resides apartment 3F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

Employment

T-1 advised subject is self-employed at his residence.

T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information on October 21, 1954, which indicated that PHILIP JAFFE was paying part of EARL BROWDER'S living expenses.

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON **5/12/99** #

AGENCY **DR**
REQ. REC'D **7-6-55**
DATE FORW. **8-6**
HOW FORW. **WINTER**
BY

b6
b7C

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: JJW	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	ENCLOSURE 40-3777-73	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES RECORDED-38 INDEXED-38
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 6-Bureau (40-3798) (RM) 1-INS, NYC (RM) 1-USA, SDNY (RM) 3-New York (100-25693) COPIES DESTROYED		JUN 1955	

PROPERTY OF FBI - THIS REPORT IS LOANED TO YOU BY THE FBI, AND NEITHER IT NOR ITS CONTENTS ARE TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE THE AGENCY TO WHICH LOANED.

NY 100-25693

The "Herald Statesman", Yonkers, New York, for March 26, 1955, contained an article which stated in part that EARL BROWDER, former head of the Communist Party in the United States, was granted an "extension of bail limits" in order to allow him to enter New Jersey to address a Rutgers University Economics class on March 28, 1955.

T-3, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 6, 1955, that EARL BROWDER is now destitute. According to the informant, BROWDER does a little accounting work at home and had some sort of small assignment, lasting three months or so, from the Fund for the Republic. The informant indicated that BROWDER had a huge store of information which he could sell at good prices to the magazines, if he chose to do so, but in spite of his indigence he has remained silent.

Marital Status

An article dated January 8, 1955, appeared in the January 9, 1955, edition of the "New York Times" entitled, "Mrs. Earl Browder dead at 58; wife of ex-head of United States Reds," and reads in part as follows: "Mrs. Raissa Irene Berkman Browder, wife of Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party in the United States, died here today in her home, 7 Highland Place, (Yonkers, New York), after a long illness. She was 58 years old on New Year's Day."

STATUS OF PROSECUTION

Criminal docket C139/257, United States District Court, Southern District of New York, checked on May 2, 1955, indicated that a perjury indictment remains outstanding against EARL BROWDER and that the case remains in a pending status.

PRIOR ACTIVITIES IN FURTHERANCE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

On December 3, 1954, EARL ALEXANDER WELCH was interviewed by SAs FRANK LONGO and JOHN J. MANNING.

WELCH advised that he had been a member of the Communist Party from about 1935 or 1936 to 1939 in Tennessee.

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He advised that he had attended in 1936 as a delegate the New York State Training School of the Communist Party and in 1938-1939 attended the National Training School of the Communist Party, held for a six month period at Camp Unity, New York.

He advised that courses were taught in Marxism-Leninism, public speaking, trade union organization and the History of the Russian Revolution.

According to WELCH, EARL BROWDER was an instructor at both schools.

On January 17, 1955, T-4, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that SIMON FELDMAN and his wife, JANE FELDMAN, at the direction of EARL BROWDER, went to Moscow in 1936 to become Comintern couriers.

The "Morning Freiheit" of January 6, 1955, page 7, column 4 and five, contained information which indicated SIMON FELDMAN was a member "of the national management of the "Morning Freiheit."

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," dated May 14, 1951, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "Morning Freiheit":

"1. A 'Communist Yiddish daily.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7036.)

"2. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p.75.)

"3. 'The official Communist newspaper published in the Yiddish tongue. For many years, M. J. Olgin was editor of Freiheit. Olgin was one of the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party in the United States for 20 years.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.242.)

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"4. 'One of the daily papers published by the Communist Party.'

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 331.)"

MISCELLANEOUS

PAUL CROUCH, self-admitted former Communist Party member, testified in the case of the United States versus Kuzma, ET AL, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on April 13, 1954, as following:

CROUCH testified that he was present at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held during the last week of May, 1935, in a rented hall in Manhattan, New York City. CROUCH testified that EARL BROWDER presided at this meeting, delegating the chair to other people at intervals as he made reports.

On April 20, 1954, PAUL CROUCH testified that the Communist Party was affiliated with the Communist International at the time he first entered the Party (1925). This relationship between the Communist Party and the Communist International did not continue in the most formal and technical sense. In November, 1940, there was a special convention at which there was a vote of formal disaffiliation; however, the delegates so voting, including CROUCH, were instructed as to the reasons for this action. CROUCH, as a Party functionary, was given a detailed explanation as to what the future relations would be. It was explained that the actual relations would be the same; that no longer was formality needed in the relations between the American Communist Party and the Communist International. In practice and effect, the relations would be the same.

These instructions were given to CROUCH by EARL BROWDER, who at that time was the General Secretary of the Communist Party, the highest position in the Party. The instructions were given CROUCH during the course of the convention held in New York City in November, 1940. The particular meeting involved was a meeting of the Political Bureau, Party Editors, and District Organizers of the Communist Party.

BROWDER reported that this convention was called because of the passage of the Voornis Bill, which would outlaw the Communist Party as a result of its affiliation with the Communist International. It had been decided in the Politburo that the Party should formally vote disaffiliation with an understanding that the real relations remain the same as in the past between the American Communist Party and the Soviet Union; that formality was no longer necessary. The formality had been essential in earlier days of the Party, but it had matured politically to the point where no formality was needed to continue the relations in the future, as in the past, between the American Communist Party and Communist International.

(Page 583 - 589)

On April 21, 1954, CROUCH identified EARL BROWDER as General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1941.

(Page 597)

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, New York, New York, testified on April 27, 1954, that EARL BROWDER, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, was in charge of the National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, held in January, 1944. BROWDER served as the Reporter.

(Pages 867-868)

On April 27, 1954, BUDENZ testified that he was instructed by EARL BROWDER to publish the results of the May, 1944, Communist Political Association Convention in the "Daily Worker." He identified the article appearing on page two of the May 23, 1944, edition of the "Daily Worker" as the article which he published at BROWDER'S direction.

(Pages 921-922)

On the same date, BUDENZ testified that in May, 1945, he was instructed by EARL BROWDER to reprint in the "Daily Worker" an article by JACQUES DUCLOS, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, which had first appeared in the "New York World Telegram." He testified that he published this article with an introduction by EARL BROWDER.

(Pages 935-936)

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On April 28, 1954, BUDENZ testified that he had on many occasions heard EARL BROWDER state that "Political Affairs" was the highest organ of the Communist Party in the United States, and that it contained instructions to members of the Communist Party, particularly leading members, and that it should be widely disseminated throughout the Party because of its major importance in giving directives to the Party members.

(Page 1007)

On April 29, 1954, BUDENZ testified that not only BROWDER but FOSTER and later STACHEL when he became political representative of the Political Bureau to the "Daily Worker," emphasized that the "Daily Worker" must not only in its editorials but in every article affecting a political subject, regard that as a directive because that was the way it was read.

(Page 1140)

JOHN LAUTNER, Washington, D.C., testified on June 7, 1954, that he was drafted into the Army in November, 1942. At that time all those who joined the Armed Forces were released from all Party obligations and membership by EARL BROWDER.

(Page 3313)

On June 8, 1954, KENNETH ECKERT, [REDACTED], [REDACTED], Michigan, testified that in 1932 he was notified that he had been selected to attend the Lenin Institute in Moscow, Russia. He stated that he went to Communist Party Headquarters in New York to receive his instructions before leaving for this school. He testified that upon arrival at Communist Party Headquarters, New York City, he was given instructions by EARL BROWDER.

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(Pages 3402-3403)

ECKERT testified that at the Lenin School, which he attended in Moscow, various writings of EARL BROWDER were among the books used at this school.

(Page 3416)

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LAWRENCE M. MAYNARD, [REDACTED] T.H., testified on June 14, 1954, that he had attended the Convention of the Communist Party, of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, held at April Farms near Quakertown, Pennsylvania, in December, 1950. STEVE NELSON, Organizer of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, addressed this gathering. The outstanding point NELSON reported was that he had talked to EARL BROWDER when BROWDER and NELSON were in jail in Washington. NELSON stated that from what he learned from BROWDER, BROWDER was a representative of TITO in this country, and that TITO was working with our [REDACTED] therefore, it was necessary to eliminate all traces of Browderism from the Party since BROWDER was actually promoting the liquidation of the Communist Party, the only Socialist Party in America.

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On January 13, 1954, ALLAN E. SLOANE testified before an Executive Session of the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, D.C. The House Committee on Un-American Activities pamphlet entitled "Communist Methods of Infiltration (Entertainment-Part One)" which contains SLOANE'S entire testimony, states that the testimony was released by the full Committee.

SLOANE testified that he became a Communist Party member in about March, 1943, at New York City, and that he severed relations with the Communist Party in about July or August, 1944.

In his testimony, SLOANE stated that EARL BROWDER was very proud of the fact that what he, BROWDER, was leading, was the American Communist Party, and not one from outside America.

At hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, 2nd Session, during an investigation of Communist activities in the Pacific Northwest area, part 1, page 6024, LEONARD BASIL WILDMAN, a self-admitted former Communist Party member, in testimony May 28, 1954, stated he recalled EARL BROWDER as an instructor at the National Training School conducted by the Communist Party which he, WILDMAN, attended in 1938 at Lake Unity, New York.

During the same hearing, part 2, page 6100, conducted on Tuesday, June 15, 1954, Representative CLYDE DOYLE called the committee's attention to page 43 of a booklet published by the American Bar Association in September, 1951, in which EARL BROWDER referred to "what are the conditions for membership in the Communist Party?" "The conditions for membership in our Party are contained in the following pledge read by Comrade BROWDER to 2,000 workers who were initiated into the Party in the New York District in 1935."

'I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. I pledge myself to spare no effort in uniting the workers in militant struggle against Fascism and war. I pledge myself to work unsparingly in the unions, in the shops, among the unemployed, to lead the struggles for the daily needs of the masses. I solemnly pledge to take my place in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights; against Jim-Crowism and lynching, against the Chauvinist lies of the ruling class. I pledge myself to rally the masses to derend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of the Soviet power in the United States.'

An article by EARL BROWDER appears on page 2 of "I.F. Stones' Weekly", October 18, 1954. The article contains references to BROWDER'S past association with the Communist Party and indicates his attitude towards subversive organizations and persons associated with them in the 1930's and 1940's and the current climate of opinion concerning them. The article reads in part as follows: "What is difficult for most people to remember today, when the terms 'Communist' and 'outlaw' have become identical in the public mind and Communists are hunted down as rabbits, is that this is something new, that for some 12 years the Communists were 'respectable' collaborators in public life "just another political party," as the saying goes, even if a bit unorthodox and peculiar. Yet precisely that fact needs to be remembered now, if our nation is to keep its balance, keep its sense of historical perspective, and not become hysterical.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

Today the climate of public opinion outlaws the slightest association with Communists and this is being enforced by more and more Draconian laws. But only a few yesterdays ago the climate of public opinion was quite otherwise."

The June 27, 1951, issue of the "Daily Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, contained information which indicated that I.F. Stone was a Columnist of the "New York Daily Compass."

"New York Times" issue of November 4, 1952, reflected that the "Daily Compass" newspaper was dissolved November 3, 1952, because of lack of funds.

T-5, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised during 1952 that the editorial and reportorial staff of the "Daily Compass" was composed, in the majority, of Communists and Communist sympathizers.

T-5 further advised that the rewriting men gave news a pro-Soviet slant and there was a constant trading of news with the "Daily Worker."

It is to be noted that in 1945 PHILIP JAFFE pleaded guilty to a charge of conspiring to obtain illegal possession of Government papers and was fined \$2,500.00.

The "Daily Worker" issue of June 19, 1953, page 2, column 1, in an article entitled, Foster Wires Clemency Plea to Eisenhower," William Z. Foster is described as the Chairman of the Communist Party.

JACOB STACHEL is one of the CP leaders who was convicted for violation of the Smith Act on October 14, 1949, in New York City.

- P* -

- 9 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGEINFORMANTS

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity And/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>	<u>File Number where Located</u>
T-1 [REDACTED]	Residence and employment	4/6/55	DANIEL H. LUCKING	100-25693-1298
T-2 [REDACTED] (T- symbol used due to fact that [REDACTED])	Re BROWDER'S living expenses	10/21/54	THOMAS G. SPENCER	100-25693-1261
T-3 [REDACTED]	Re BROWDER'S income	4/6/55	GEORGE G. MC KENNA	[REDACTED]
T-4 [REDACTED]	Re SIMON and JANE FELDMAN	1/17/55	ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON	[REDACTED]
T-5 [REDACTED]	Used to document "Daily Compass."			

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Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T- symbols were utilized in the report only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.

MISCELLANEOUS

The subject was interviewed on 4/6/55 by SAS NEIL P. DIVERS and JAMES F. MARTIN at his residence, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, in reference to CP membership on the part of CORLISS LAMONT. The interview was substantially negative. BROWDER felt that any cooperation on his part would lead to public testimony and possibly contempt or perjury charges against him.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

NY 100-25693

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report prosecutive action concerning subject's pending perjury trial.

REFERENCE Report of SA JAMES H. HANLON, 10/28/54, NY.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, New York (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS-C; PERJURY

DATE: 6/27/55

Card U.T.D.

7-14-55a

Enclosed herewith are the original and 5 copies of the report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, dated and captioned as above.

NYO is of the opinion that the subject does not meet the standards set forth in the manual of instructions relating to key figures and he is being deleted from the key figure list in the NYO.

The following information is of such a nature that dissemination thereof outside the Bureau might jeopardize the security of [] the source thereof. Inasmuch as this information reflects financial operations of the CP, known to only a few individuals in the Party, it is suggested that extreme caution be exercised in the dissemination thereof outside the Bureau.

b7D

[] New York City, or in various New York City [] names unrecalled, where WEINER had []

[] by WEINER under the supervision of EARL BROWDER, Head of the CP. The [] was derived from []

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[] disposal of EARL BROWDER [] for the operation of the CP illegal apparatus - in some instances for "open" Party purposes - and []

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In 1945, []

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RM

JES:MXG

RECORDED-38

40-277-731

JUN 28 1955

JUN 28 1955

60 JUL 18 1955

Letter to Director
NY 100-25693

[REDACTED] WEINER [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WILLIAM WEINER and
EARL BROWDER.

b7D

According to the informant [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Before
the expulsion from the Party of EARL BROWDER, the informant
delivered this [REDACTED] BROWDER, [REDACTED]
personally to VINCENTE TOLEDANO of the Mexican CP when
TOLEDANO would be in NYC.

b7D

While EARL BROWDER was head of the CP, USA, he received
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] The informant, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] BROWDER, was aware, generally, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] BROWDER
never was questioned concerning the purposes for which he
required [REDACTED]

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According to the informant, EARL BROWDER, among others,
received from [REDACTED]
BROWDER and other top functionaries also received from the
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] EARL BROWDER and others [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7D

With respect to income taxes, both Federal and State, the
amounts due from BROWDER and other top functionaries were
[REDACTED]

b7D

By letter to the Director dated 3/23/54, a copy to NYO,
WFO has sent copies of testimony before the HCUA on 3/4, 5/54
concerning an alleged tie-up between the CP and the NPPR.

STEPHANIE HORVATH, Detective, BSSI, NYCPD, testified be-
fore this Committee.

This information may not be disseminated without the
expressed approval of HCUA, which approval has not been requested.

Letter to Director
NY 100-25693

Miss HORVATH stated that confidential information received by her on 12/29/43 indicated that on 12/28/43 a meeting was sponsored by the CP of Lower Harlem, Headquarters, 1668 Madison Avenue, Manhattan, New York. The meeting was held at the Club Obrero Espanol, 1490 Madison Avenue. The main speaker, according to Miss HORVATH, was the General Secretary of the Puerto Rican CP, RIVERA SANTOS. He was introduced by RAFAEL VERGAS (VARGAS), a member of the CP of East Harlem. He announced that RIVERA SANTOS would soon leave for Puerto Rico and that he came to the US at the suggestion of the CP, USA, through its leader, EARL BROWDER.

SANTOS indicated in his speech that he had entered into discussions with BROWDER and many other people of the CP, USA.

Miss HORVATH testified that a meeting of the NPPR was held on 3/22/41 at Lexington Hall. EARL BROWDER was one of the speakers at this meeting.

Miss HORVATH in testifying about the 9/23/43 NPPR celebration in NY stated that EARL BROWDER was one of the speakers. BROWDER said that as the leader of the CP he was in full accord with Puerto Ricans in their fight for liberation and freedom from the Imperialists who have been exploiting the people of the island for so long. BROWDER concluded his speech by urging the NPPR to keep on fighting, saying that the CP was behind them in every respect to fulfill their ambitions for a free Puerto Rico.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES

AGENT

To: Director, FBI (100-408891)

From: SAC, New York (100-119129)

Subject: COMINFIL UNITED CITRUS
FRUIT AND VEGETABLE
WORKERS OF AMERICA
IS-C

DATE OF REPLY

CONFIDENTIAL

Attached hereto is a copy of a report dated 5/12/55
furnished to SA R. H. BLASSER on 5/12/55 by [redacted] (S)(u)

Informant sets forth the status of above captioned
organization in his report (S)(u)

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of the leaflet captioned
"The Florida Citrus Industry" furnished to SA R. H. BLASSER on
5/12/55, by [redacted] (S)(u)

Three copies of the above described leaflet are enclosed
for the Miami Office.

The IONA KRAMER referred to by the informant in his report
is believed to be IONE KRAMER of the "National Guardian" (S)(u)

An additional copy of informant's report is being designated
for the Bureau in order that the office of origin covering the
residence of TEX DOBBS may be advised by the Bureau inasmuch as the
New York Office is not in possession of this information (S)(u)

A copy of the leaflet captioned "The Florida Citrus
Industry" is being maintained as exhibit 1A1, NY file 100-119129,

In any of the information set forth by the informant in
his report is used in a report or disseminated outside the Bureau,
it must be paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant. (C)

19-Bureau (Enc. 20) (RM) (1-100-15716)

(1-100-3-4) (NY STATE CP)
(1-100- (LEM HARRIS)
(1-100-3-63 (CP, USA-FUNDS)
(1-100- (CHAS. COE)
(1-100- (FOOD AND TOBACCO WORKERS UNION)
(1-100- (NATIONAL GUARDIAN)
(1-100- (IONE KRAMER)
(1-100- (FRANK BANCROFT)
(1-100- (JEANETTE TURNER)

NOT RECORDED

46 JUL 1 1955

(copies cont'd)

DECLASSIFIED

ON 12/13/01

RHB:WS

62 JUL 25 1955

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ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

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Letter to Director, FBI
NY 100-119129

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(copies cont'd)

	(1-100-) (NY TENANTS COUNCIL)
	(1-100-	) (PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS UNION)
	(1-100-3-75	) (CP, USA-NEGRO QUESTION)
	(1-100-	) (HARRY KOGER)
	(1-100-	) (EARL BROWDER)
	(1-100-	) (OTIS NATION)
	(2-100-	) (TEX DOBBS)
	(1-100-	) (IFLWU)
2-Chicago (Enc. 2) (RM)	(1-100-	) (OWEN WHITFIELD)
	(1-100-	) (CP, USA, FARM MATTERS)
3-Miami (Enc. 6) (RM)	(1-100-	) (OTIS NATION)
	(1-100-	) (CP, USA, FARM MATTERS)
	(1-100-	) (CP, USA, FUNDS)
3-New Orleans (Enc. 3) (RM)	(1-100-	) (FNU, STEPHENS or STEVENS)
	(1-100-	) (CP, USA, FARM MATTERS)
	(1-100-	) (PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS UNION)
2-San Antonio (Enc. 2) (RM)	(1-100-	) (HARRY KOGER)
	(1-100-	) (CP, USA, FARM MATTERS)
1-San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM)	(INFO.)	

(1-NY [redacted] (P&C) (Enc. 1) 7-11 C

(1-NY 100-26603) (NY ST/TE CP) (Enc. 1) 12-14
(1-NY 100-7658) (LEM HARRIS) (Enc. 1) 12-13
(1-NY 100-74560) (FUNDS) (Enc. 1) 7-1
(1-NY 100-66938) (CHAS. COE) (Enc. 1) 12-11
(1-NY 100-27821) (FOOD AND TOB. COO WORKERS) (Enc. 1) 7-2
(1-NY 100-93572) (NATIONAL GUARDIAN) (Enc. 1) 7-2
(1-NY 100-119441) (TONE KRAMER) (Enc. 1) 12-14
(1-NY 100-1087) (FRANK BANCROFT) (Enc. 1) 12-14
(1-NY 100-58259) (JEANETTE TURNER) (Enc. 1) 12-13
(1-NY 100-84249) (NY TENANTS COUNCIL) (Enc. 1) 7-2
(1-NY 100-47233) (PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS UNION) (Enc. 1) 7-2
(1-NY 100-80640) (NEGRO QUESTION) (Enc. 1) 12-14
(1-NY 100-18971) (HARRY KOGER) (Enc. 1) 7-5
(1-NY 100-25693) (EARL BROWDER) (Enc. 1) 12-9
(1-NY 100-29687) (IFLWU) (Enc. 1) 7-2

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS-C: PERJURY

DATE: 9/14/55

Rerep of SA JAMES E. HANLON, 6/27/55 at NY.

The above captioned subject has been removed from the key figure list in the NYO and has been recommended for deletion from the Security Index.

A lead was set out in referenced report to follow and report prosecutive action concerning the subject's pending perjury trial. Inasmuch as this is primarily an INS case, a separate letter is being directed to the local office of the INS requesting that office to advise the NYO the final disposition of this case.

The NYO is placing this case in a closed status at this time.

RECORDED-27

16 51

10 TO W-22

RECEIVED

EX-113

40-3778- 733
16 SEP 16 1955

58 SEP 21 1955

RM
JEH:CPR

5/12/99



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, New York (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS-C; PERJURY

DATE: 8/31/55

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SAC let 55-30, 4/12/55.

SUCCINCT RESUME OF CASE

The "New York Herald Tribune," 10/1/52, refers to EARL BROWDER as the general secretary of the CP, USA, 1930 to 1944.

An article by LOUIS BUDENZ, "Daily Worker" for 5/23/44, page 2, reflects that EARL BROWDER was elected president of the CPA on 5/22/44.

The "Daily Worker" of 2/14/46, page 2, in an article captioned, "CP Expels BROWDER as Deserter to Class Enemy," stated that EARL BROWDER was expelled from the CP on 2/13/46 by the National Committee of the CP acting on the recommendation of the National Board, CP, USA - for gross violation of Party discipline and decisions, for active opposition to the political line and leadership of our Party, for developing factional activity, and for betraying the principles of Marxism - Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy - American monopoly capital.

Information attributed to confidential informant [redacted] in report of SA JEROME W. BROWER dated 7/8/46, NY, concerning BROWDER's connection with espionage is as follows:

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The informant advised that the subject and JACOB GOLOS, who, prior to his death in 1943, was connected with world Tourists, Inc., had a close working espionage arrangement apparently unknown to the Russians or the CP. In the fall of 1941 GOLOS was reported to be making available to BROWDER all of the espionage material he obtained prior to passing it on to his (GOLOS') Russian contacts. BROWDER was only permitted to read the material, and was not allowed to have it in his possession except for a brief period.

RM

JEH:MFW

RECORDED-57

29 SEP 2 1955

Letter to Director, FBI
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BROWDER was aware of the fact that GOLOS had been in the employ of the Russian espionage system, and as a matter of fact in return for the privilege of seeing such information BROWDER allegedly supplied GOLOS with individuals in the CP who carried on espionage work for GOLOS. When GOLOS died in 1943, ELIZABETH BENTLEY, an associate of GOLOS' who assisted him in his espionage work, contacted BROWDER to determine what course she should follow in carrying on GOLOS' work as head of a large ring of Americans working as espionage agents for the USSR. BROWDER is reported to have instructed BENTLEY to continue the operation of the ring as GOLOS had previously done and not to allow these people to be taken over by the Russians. Pressure was exerted later on in May, 1944, on BENTLEY to turn all of her American contacts over to a Russian contact known as BILL. BENTLEY brought this to BROWDER's attention, and she was instructed to arrange a meeting between BROWDER and this BILL.

In June, 1944, this informant advised that BROWDER informed BENTLEY that she was directed to turn over to the espionage group, operating under the leadership of NATHAN SILVERMASTER, her Russian contact known as BILL. Another Russian contact of BENTLEY's, by the name of JACK, was requested to confer with BROWDER, but because of his position in the Russian espionage setup, he could not afford to see BROWDER personally.

[redacted] reliable, advised in the early part of 1951 that during the time that EARL BROWDER served as general secretary of the CP, USA, BROWDER, himself, was the Party functionary who acted as liaison between the open Party and the Underground organization of the CP.

In testimony before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., 4/27/50, EARL BROWDER, in an answer to a question concerning the period of his association with the CP, USA, stated as follows:

Letter to Director, FBI
NY 100-25693

"I was in prison when the CP was formed in 1919, serving a sentence for opposing America's entrance into the First World War. As soon as I got out of prison I joined the CP, having been associated with left wing forces in the Socialist Party before that, which went to form the CP. I was drafted, against my will, into the leadership of the CP at that time and took an active part in it thereafter, down to 1945. Most of the time I was in a leading capacity, although I was away in Europe for a few years."

In answer to a question concerning his trip to the Soviet Union following his expulsion from the CP, BROWDER replied as follows:

"The occasion for my trip to the Soviet Union was the fact that I had been a close friend of the Soviet Union since 1921, and an active advocate of better relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union with, in some periods, some effect upon the situation; and, I considered that the occasion of my severance from the CP made it advisable for me, in order to continue the previous relations that I had established over the course of years, to visit the Soviet Union, if possible, in order to see if my expulsion from the CP here did not sever all my relations with persons in the Soviet Union which would extremely limit the effectiveness of anything I might do in America for better relations between the two countries."

In answer to the question, "What did you find out relative to your relations in the Soviet Union," BROWDER answered: "I found that in Moscow I was received as an old and trusted friend. I was given all hospitality of an old and trusted friend, and in the course of my visit there, it was proposed to me that I should accept a post of representative in America of the Soviet publishing houses, try to secure American publication of Soviet books. I accepted that proposal, largely because of the fact that it served as a confirmation of my main purpose

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in visiting there, of establishing that I had not broken my friendly relations with the Soviet Union."

A fisur determined that BROWDER departed the U.S. 4/26/46 from New York.

NY T-54 advised 5/6/46 that BROWDER had arrived in Moscow, Russia.

The "New York Herald Tribune" for 8/6/48, in an article captioned, "Reds Turn Down BROWDER's Plea to Rejoin Party," reads in part as follows:

"Communist National Convention rejected yesterday an appeal from EARL BROWDER, former general secretary of the Party, for reinstatement to membership.....on the grounds that he had done nothing to correct the errors for which he was expelled and was continuing 'anti-Party activities...'"

The "New York Times" for 9/15/49, carried an article stating that the Soviet Government had dropped EARL BROWDER from its payroll as American publishing representative of all Union Council of Ministers, severance taking place at end of July, 1949.

Miss JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS advised on 4/14/50 that EARL BROWDER is disillusioned by the trends of international Communism, since he (BROWDER) believed that successful changes he desired could be achieved within the U.S. without force and the violent overthrow of this government.

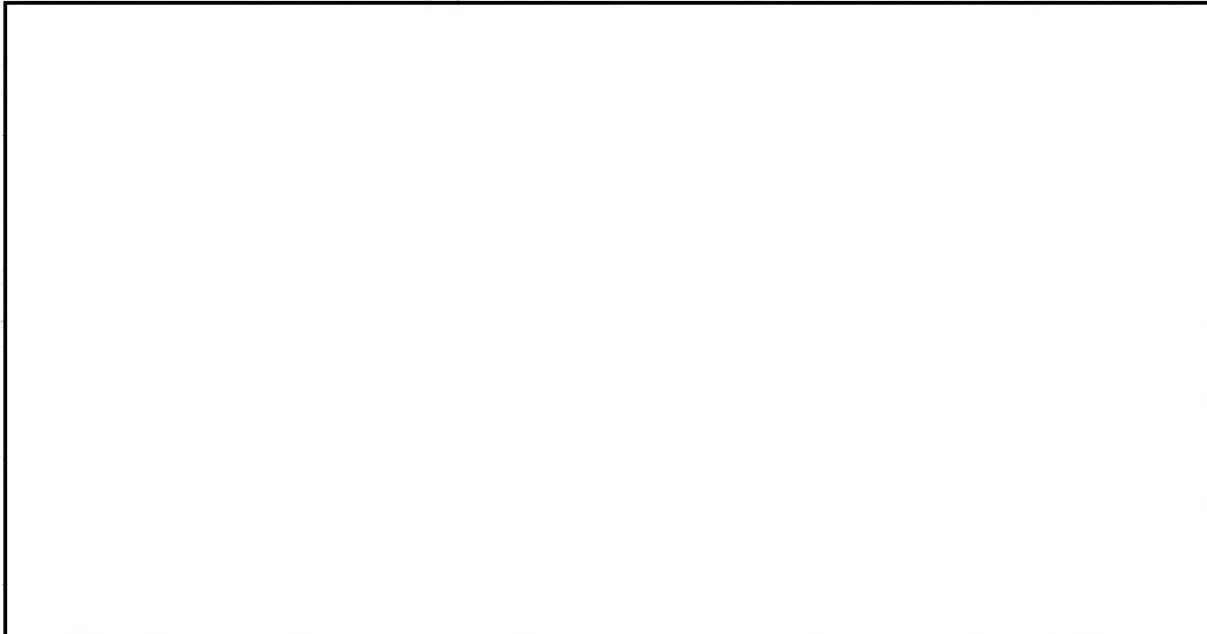
The "New York Herald Tribune" for 9/22/50 reflects that EARL BROWDER was cited by the U.S. Senate for contempt of Congress on that date for his reluctance to testify during the recent investigation of charges of disloyalty in the [REDACTED]

This contempt citation resulted from BROWDER's

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testimony on 4/27/50 before the Foreign Relations Committee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.



[redacted], reliable, advised 1/30/51 that JOSEPH STAROBIN, foreign editor of "The Worker" had recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union. STAROBIN was asked by the informant (What do they think of BROWDER?) STAROBIN answered that "BROWDER is being considered a revisionist and a disrupter. He is totally discredit in the Soviet Union and in the world Communist movement."

Miss JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS advised in the early part of 1951 that EARL BROWDER was even more discredited, if possible, by the present leadership of the CP, USA, than ^{even} before, and she did not think that BROWDER could be readmitted to the Party both by reason of his past record and his continued opposition to the present Party leadership. Miss JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS advised in the summer of 1951 that EARL BROWDER had expressed the view that the Stockholm Peace Appeal was a "hoax,"

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and that BROWDER had also recently indicated that he did not think the CP would make much of a comeback in this country for a long time by reason of disrepute that had been brought upon it under its present leadership.

EUDOCIO RAVINES, unknown reliability, former Peruvian Communist, advised in November, 1951, that he met BROWDER personally in Moscow in 1938, at which time the Comintern was holding a series of discussions regarding the **Latin American** field. RAVINES stated BROWDER was held in the highest esteem **by** the Comintern as an agent of the first category. When BROWDER spoke the other delegates listened with the utmost respect, and a great deal of weight was given to his opinions. RAVINES stated that BROWDER was given the difficult task of convincing President ROOSEVELT that the CP could work with his administration. RAVINES stated that he had noted that BROWDER became one of the foremost spokesmen in the Western Hemisphere for the doctrine of "co-existence" under which the capitalist world and the USSR were pictured as living happily without conflict. RAVINES stated that when the CP line changed at the end of the war it was impossible to leave BROWDER as head of the CP, but he feels that BROWDER continues to work for the Comintern, and continues to be well regarded in Moscow although he has no knowledge in regard thereto. He stated that this was merely an opinion.

JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS advised on 1/18/52 that in her opinion EARL BROWDER has definitely **split** with the CP, USA, and is bearing **farther** and **farther** away from the Party line. Miss ADAMS stated she is positive that BROWDER will never become **reconciled** with the CP, and is not in a position to ever again gain control of the CP, USA. Miss ADAMS stated that BROWDER **firmly** believes that conflict between Russia and the U.S. **must** and can be **avoided**, and it was her opinion that BROWDER would actively oppose Russia in the event of a war between the U.S. and that country.

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PHILLIP JAFFE stated on 4/19/52 that he does not think that BROWDER would ever, under any circumstances, reactivate in the CP. He stated that if BROWDER was a younger man he believed BROWDER would be prepared to make a radical change in his political thinking, but at the present time BROWDER feels he is too old for any such change. JAFFE stated that he believes BROWDER would most likely become a Socialist along the lines of NORMAN THOMAS, but possibly not as strong. JAFFE advised that BROWDER, as a result of DUCLOS letter, became bitter toward the CP, USA, which animosity he holds to this day. JAFFE stated that BROWDER has always stood for co-existence of the USSR and America. He further stated that BROWDER seems satisfied to be out of the CP, USA, and has stated that he could never follow the world Communist line.

BELLA V. DODD advised on 9/6 and 10/30/51 that when TITO first broke with the Comintern BROWDER's emphatic opinion was that he was wrong to do so. Now, however, his opinion seems to be that TITO was justified. She stated that she felt that this may be some indication of BROWDER's allegiance to the Communist movement and the Comintern may be weakening. She stated that it was apparent that BROWDER's attitude today is the CP in America cannot hold the working class as long as it is tied to Moscow. BELLA V. DODD stated that in the event of war with the Soviet Union it is her opinion that BROWDER would support the U.S. Government.

The "New York Post" for 2/6/53 contains an interview of EARL BROWDER by JOSEPH P. LASH. BROWDER is quoted in part as follows:

".....by 1949, however, I saw that that the trend with which I had been identified was definitely defeated, and at that time I cut off all ideological connections with the movement as I had severed organizational ties in 1946..."

The "New York Herald Tribune" for 3/22/53 contains an interview of EARL BROWDER by MARGUERITE HIGGINS.

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BROWDER's answer to the question, "When did you decide to go into opposition to the CP?" is as follows:

"I gave up all connections with Soviet publishing houses in 1949. With the war in Korea, it became clear that it was an urgent matter to expose the militaristic tendencies of the Soviet Union - tendencies quite in opposition to the wishes of its own people and above all to the Democratic Left of which I count myself a part."

The "New York Herald Tribune" for 3/25/53 contains an article, date line Washington, D.C., 3/24/53, which states in part that EARL BROWDER refused repeatedly on the ground of possible self-incrimination to answer questions dealing with CP membership or authorship of two books bearing his name "Communism in the United States" and "Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace." At this time BROWDER was testifying before the Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee.

"The Nation", 3/14/53, reflects an article by EARL BROWDER entitled, "Is War Nearer? An Ex-Communist's View." In this article BROWDER stated in part that since 1945 his disagreement with the international line of the Communist movement has grown to such an extent that he no longer considers himself a Communist.

The "Brooklyn Eagle" for 10/5/53 carried an article entitled, "Russia Opposes Red China Entry to U.N. Says BROWDER." In this article BROWDER is quoted in part as follows:

"I am not very popular today. I never did fit in a pigeon hole. I was not a 100 per cent doctrinaire Communist. Today I am not a 100 per cent anti-Communist."

JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS, in January, 1954, furnished an article which she stated had been written by EARL BROWDER for the North American Newspaper Alliance for publication in newspapers throughout the United States. BROWDER is quoted in part as follows:

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NY 100-25693

"For years I have not considered myself a Communist and the Communists themselves denounce me as one of their most deadly enemies."

JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS advised in October, 1954, EARL BROWDER has expressed himself in an anti-Communist manner on a number of occasions particularly after the persecution of the Jewish doctors in Russia.

[redacted] reliable, stated in August, 1954, that he was of the opinion that MARTIN YOUNG has been in secret contact with EARL BROWDER. MARTIN YOUNG was secretary of the Ohio CP and also for the Pittsburgh District of the CP.

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On 8/27/47, on direction of Special Assistant to Attorney General T. VINCENT QUINN, EARL BROWDER was interviewed by Bureau agents at his place of business with reference to the case entitled, "NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER, ET AL; ESPIONAGE - R." The pictures of the principal subjects in this case were shown to EARL BROWDER, and he admitted knowing only JACOB GOLOS and JOHN ABT. He said he had known GOLOS for approximately twenty years and GOLOS had arranged passage through World Tourist, Inc. for BROWDER on numerous occasions and had loaned BROWDER some Russian pamphlets and books on a purely personal basis. BROWDER denied that GOLOS ever furnished him any information or material coming from U.S. Government sources. BROWDER specifically denied knowing or having met ELIZABETH BENTLEY or NATHAN SILVERMASTER. BROWDER terminated the interview by stating "in view of the government's present attitude toward the CP and their contention that it is a criminal syndicate, I wish to state that I will decline to discuss my connection with the CP or my knowledge of any of the persons connected with the CP."

EARL BROWDER was interviewed on 5/19/52, by Bureau agents, at which time he stated that he strongly disagreed with the policy of the United States Government

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in its prosecution of the CP leaders, and that he did not consider the CP in this country as a danger to the security of the United States Government. BROWDER stated he considered himself to be a good American, and that while he was head of the CP in the U.S., it became a strong, forceful organization which was responsible for bringing about some political changes. BROWDER stated that, although he disagreed with the government's policy in the handling of the CP prosecution, he also violently opposed the CP leaders who were facing government prosecution. BROWDER stated that for several years he entertained the conviction that war between the Soviet Union and the U.S. was inconceivable, but that he recently came to the conclusion that war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is now conceivable. BROWDER stated that if he were in possession of information regarding the operation of an espionage agent or one working against the best interests of this government and he knew this to be true, he would make this information immediately available to the proper authorities.

BROWDER was friendly and cordial to the interviewing agents, but stated that if he ever decided to talk it would be only to discuss political matters, and he would never talk about individuals or his past CP associates.

EARL BROWDER was recontacted by Bureau agents on 6/12/52. BROWDER repeatedly remarked that further contacts with him by FBI agents were useless for the purpose of engaging him in conversations, discussions, etc. BROWDER stated that "life is too short to get involved now."

BROWDER appeared fairly cordial when the agents greeted him at this time, but it was noted that throughout the entire interview BROWDER was obviously reluctant to talk with the agents. His politeness throughout the entire interview was strained. As the agents pressed the interview,

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BROWDER became more reluctant to answer questions, and the agents gained the distinct impression that he did not want to get involved in any discussion. It appeared to the interviewing agents that BROWDER was afraid to become involved in any series of interviews or to discuss a particular subject with Bureau agents for fear of becoming personally implicated.

EARL BROWDER was interviewed on 4/6/55 at his residence, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, by Bureau agents in conjunction with an investigation of CORLISS LAMONT. BROWDER stated that he felt that any cooperation on his part would lead to public testimony and possible involvement in contempt or perjury charges against him.

The interviewing agents were of the opinion that BROWDER possesses a strong desire to remain apart from any judicial proceedings, in view of his comments that his past efforts resulted in his becoming personally involved. The interviewing agents were also of the opinion that there is no basis for the belief that BROWDER might be willing to furnish information on a confidential basis, since his present attitude, while apparently friendly and respectful, does indicate a lack of cooperation on his part.

On 9/26/52 a Federal Grand Jury, SDNY, returned a true bill charging BROWDER with violation of Title 18, Section 1015 (a), U.S. Code, based on false statements under oath on 10/14/49, in connection with his wife's (IRENE) petition for naturalization. At the hearing BROWDER stated that IRENE BROWDER was never a member of the CP or active in the CP, USA. On 9/30/52 a sealed indictment was opened before Federal Judge JOHN W. CLANCY, SDNY, charging BROWDER with violation of Title, 18, Section 1015 (a), U.S. Code, and a bench warrant was issued by Judge CLANCY for his arrest. BROWDER was arrested by Bureau agents on 9/30/52 and taken before Judge CLANCY for the purpose of setting bail.

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Criminal Docket C139/257, USDC, SDNY, reflects that the perjury indictment remains outstanding against EARL BROWDER, and that the case remains in a pending status. It will be noted that EARL BROWDER's wife, IRENE, died in January, 1955.

RECOMMENDATION

Inasmuch as no CP activity as such has been reported for BROWDER within the period prescribed in SAC let 55-30, it is recommended that the subject be deleted from the SI.

DETCOM TABBING

1. Subject is currently tabbed detcom and comsab.
2. Subject has not been approved for detcom tabbing under new criteria in SAC let 55-12 (A), 2/10/55.
3. Subject is being recommended for deletion from the SI.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 27 1955

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Mr. Gandy	_____

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-15-92 BY [redacted]

WASH 1 FROM NEW YORK

27

3-14 PM

DIRECTOR

URGENT

200L [redacted]

[redacted] WAS, MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING ESPIONAGE.

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BUFILE SIXTYONE DASH ONE TWO NINE TWO . NY SIX HUNDRED DASH S,
ON THE EVENING OF NINE TWENTYSIX LAST, ADVISED THAT THE SUBJECT CONTACTED
BEN MANDEL, WHOSE IDENTITY IS KNOWN TO THE BUREAU. MANDEL INFORMED
SUBJECT HE HAD PROPOSED THAT EARL BROWDER BE INVITED AS A WITNESS,
APPARENTLY BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE. MANDEL STATED THAT BROWDER HAS
BEEN EMPLOYED AS A CONSULTANT BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. SOURCE
INDICATED THAT SUBJECT WAS AWARE OF THIS AND MANDEL INFORMED HIM
THIS HAD BEEN VERIFIED BY VIC RIESEL /POSSIBLY NY "DAILY MIRROR"
WRITER/ WHO HAD CALLED UP THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC AND WAS ADVISED
BROWDER IS CONNECTED WITH THEIR OFFICE. MANDEL STATED THAT THE
"POST" /POSSIBLY WASHINGTON NEWSPAPER/ HAD CARRIED A STORY ON THIS
MATTER ALSO. MANDEL NOTED THAT FOR SOME TIME BROWDER HAS BEEN
WORKED ON BY BOB MORRIS /BELIEVED TO BE NY JUDGE/ AND OTHERS,
APPARENTLY REFERRING TO EFFORTS TO HAVE BROWDER FURNISH INFORMATION
RE CP, USA. MANDEL HAS PROPOSED THAT BROWDER BE CALLED AS A WITNESS
AND IF HE TALKS IT WOULD BE SO MUCH TO THE GOOD AND IF HE DOES NOT
TALK THE QUESTION COULD BE RAISED HOW THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
COULD PAY HIM. MANDEL PROPOSED THAT BROWDER-S TESTIMONY SHOULD BE
CONFINED ONLY TO "ILLICIT STUFF" AS BROWDER HAS TESTIFIED AT LENGTH
ON "OPEN STUFF" IN NINETEEN THIRTYNINE. MANDEL SUGGESTED THAT

RECORDED - 43

101 OCT 10 1955

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PAGE TWO

THE SUBJECT CONSIDER THIS MATTER AND TELEPHONICALLY CONTACT HIM ON NINE TWENTYSEVEN NEXT AND DICTATE TO A STENOGRAPHER HIS THOUGHTS CONCERNING THIS MATTER. MANDEL SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR THE SUBJECT TO DO ANY RESEARCH. MANDEL INDICATED HE WANTED INFORMATION FROM THE SUBJECT TO ASSIST IN QUESTIONING BROWDER AND THAT THIS INFORMATION COULD BE FURNISHED BY THE SUBJECT IN THE FORM OF TOPICS WHICH GO RIGHT TO THE HEART OF THE MATTER AND MAY BE EMPLOYED TO REFRESH MANDEL-S MEMORY. MANDEL SUGGESTED THAT SUBJECT INCLUDE INFORMATION THAT BROWDER IS BOUND TO KNOW ABOUT AND WHICH WOULD REVEAL WHETHER OR NOT BROWDER WANTS TO TALK. MANDEL COMMENTED THAT IF BROWDER DOES NOT TALK THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC WILL BE ON THE SPOT. HE NOTED THAT THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC HAVE EXPERTS WHO ARE WORKING ON VARIOUS PHASES OF THE /CP/ MOVEMENT. SUBJECT CONSENTED TO ASSIST MANDEL AND INFORMED HIM HE WOULD CONTACT MANDEL VERY LATE ON THE EVENING OF NINE TWENTYSEVEN. SUBJECT ADDED THAT HE WILL BE IN WASHINGTON FOR A FEW HOURS ON NINE TWENTY SEVEN TO CONTACT GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT, AFL, RE SPEECH MEANY WILL MAKE BEFORE THE

~~CORR.... LINE 13 WRD 4 SHD READ PHASES RPT "PHASES"~~

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

AMERICAN LEGION. SOURCE INDICATED SUBJECT WOULD HAVE DINNER WITH GEORGE MEANY ON NINE TWENTY SEVEN AND RETURN TO NYC FROM WASHINGTON AND THEREAFTER CONTACT MANDEL. MANDEL INDICATED IT WAS URGENT THAT HE RECEIVE THIS INFORMATION SINCE BROWDER WAS SCHEDULED TO COME IN TO TESTIFY ON WEDNESDAY NEXT. SUBJECT COMMENTED THAT ONE DRAPER OBTAINED A POSITION FOR BROWDER IN CONNECTION WITH THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. MANDEL INDICATED HE WAS AWARE OF THIS AND HAD BEEN SO ADVISED BY DRAPER THAT BROWDER HAD BEEN WORKING WITH DRAPER BEFORE DRAPER RECEIVED A GRANT FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. THE SUBJECT REMARKED THAT THIS WAS A GOOD IDEA, HOWEVER, NOTED THAT MATERIAL WOULD HAVE TO BE OBTAINED OF A CURRENT NATURE AT THE TIME WHEN BROWDER WAS CP SECRETARY. HE ADDED THAT ONE ELIZABETH, POSSIBLY ELIZABETH BENTLEY, COULD GIVE MANDEL FURTHER INFORMATION. MANDEL NOTED THAT ELIZABETH HAS FURNEISHED INFORMATION CONCERNING BROWDER IN HER TESTIMONY. SUBJECT ALSO INFORMED MANDEL HE MAY BE IN WASHINGTON ON THURSDAY

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

NIGHT OR FRIDAY NEXT. PURPOSE OF VISIT NOT STATED. DRAPER REFERRED TO ABOVE POSSIBLY IDENTICAL WITH THEODORE DRAPER OF NY WHO IS ENGAGED IN A STUDY PROJECT CONCERNING HISTORY OF THE CP IN THE UNITED STATES, NINETEEN NINETEEN TO NINETEEN FORTYFIVE, FOR THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC UNDER A PROJECT ENTITLED "STUDY OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN LIFE" DIRECTED BY CLINTON ROSSITER OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

KELLY

END

NY R 1 WA BLW

TU DISC

ORIGINAL--DIRECTOR

A. H. BELMONT

9-30-55

W. M. MOONEY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/13/01 BY [redacted]

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FORD FOUNDATION; FUND FOR FREEDOM, INC.
(THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

ASAC J. D. Jamieson, Albany, telephonically contacted Bu
Supervisor William M. Mooney at 12:13 a.m., 9-30-55.

He advised that Clinton Rossiter, Professor of Govern-
ment, Cornell University, has not been contacted by agents of
the Albany office concerning the Fund for the Republic or its
study of Communism.

ASAC Jamieson advised that Professor Rossiter has been
contacted by agents of the Albany office on two occasions during
the past six months. These two contacts are outlined as follows:

I. ASAC Jamieson made reference to Bulet to New York
2-7-55 captioned "Paolo De Negris Police Cooperations Foreign
Miscellaneous" (Bufile 64-37829-1). This Bulet reflects
Dr. Giuseppe Dosi, a police contact in Rome, advised by let
1-22-55 that De Negris was arrested in Italy in May, 1954, and
had in his possession six #20 American Express Company U.S.
Dollar Travelers Cheques. It had been established cheques were
sold to one Clinton Rossiter, who had not reported their loss or
theft. Dr. Dosi requested Bureau determine if cheques genuine
and if so were signatures thereon true signatures.

By let 4-20-55 Albany enclosed blank memoranda on this
matter setting forth interview of Professor Rossiter on 3-8-55 and
Mrs. Mary Crane Rossiter on 3-25-55. These interviews conducted
by SA Gerald J. O'Brien and restricted to info re cheques. (Bu
file 64-37829-4)

II. Professor Rossiter was interviewed 7-7-55 by
SA Peter F. Marson (Resident Agent at Ithaca, N.Y.) in
connection with a security investigation. ASAC Jamieson stated
that the interview was specifically confined to the subject of
the security investigation of Harry Albert Holloway and not
for the purpose of obtaining info re Fund for the Republic or
the project sponsored by the Fund which is a study of Communist
influence on the American way of life.

CC - 1 - Mr. Belmont

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Mr. Mooney (2)

(Earl Browder)

(40-37829)

140-5197
NOT RECORDED
80 OCT 10 1955

WMM:skw

OCT 11 1955

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

Chicago advised Albany that Holloway's mother-in-law alleged that Holloway was a Communist. Albany conducted sufficient investigation to determine no foundation for allegation and case closed in Albany office. None of investigation forwarded to Bureau.

According to ASAC Jamieson, SA Maxson has advised that he does not recall who brought the subject up, but during the interview with Rossiter, the project was mentioned. Since January, 1955, the project has received considerable publicity in public print according to ASAC Jamieson. SA Maxson further advised that the project was general knowledge in the community. SA Maxson stated, according to ASAC Jamieson, that he has a vivid recollection of at no time inquiring of Professor Rossiter of the manner in which the funds of the project were being disbursed. He does recall asking Professor Rossiter what sources were being utilized to obtain information and Professor Rossiter replied that the material was being obtained from public source material.

ASAC Jamieson reiterated that these are the only two occasions on which SAs of the Albany office interviewed Professor Rossiter.

ASAC Jamieson made reference to NY air-tel 9-28-55 captioned "Earl Browder, IS-C," page 1, paragraph 4, wherein [redacted] Executive Director, American Committee for Cultural Freedom, advised Professor Rossiter made a press release re the study of the Fund "shortly after he was interviewed by the agents." In this regard Jamieson also noted in paragraph 2, page 1, of same NY air-tel 9-28-55 [redacted] advised Rossiter was "recently" interviewed by two FBI agents."

b7D

Jamieson noted that the last Albany interview by SA Maxson was on 7-7-55 but the press release was not until 9-16-55 as noted in NY air-tel 9-28-55, paragraph 6, page 2. Jamieson stated that Albany, by let 9-28-55, captioned "Dr. Clinton Rossiter, Information Concerning," forwarded to the Bureau an AP news story clipped from the Ithaca Journal of 9-16-55. Jamieson referred to last paragraph, page 2, of NY air-tel 9-28-55 wherein NY noted that Internal Revenue Service was initiating investigation re the Fund. Jamieson states that

Best Copy Available

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

it is reasonable to conclude that inquiry by Internal Revenue Service re disbursement of funds could have prompted press release 9-18-55. His conclusion is based on fact that the question of disbursement not discussed by SAs of Albany office and that [redacted] supra, who contacted NYO 9-27-55 re instant matter stated Rosatter "recently" interviewed by two FBI agents." Jamieson also noted that at neither of the afore-mentioned interviews was Rosatter approached by two agents, both contacts being made by individual agents.

b7D

ASAC Jamieson concluded by stating that the above covered all the points raised by the Bureau concerning this matter.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 28 1955

TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

9-28-55

5-01 PM

MON.

DIRECTOR

URGENT

[REDACTED] WAS, MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING ~~PAREN~~

(ESPIONAGE) ~~PAREN~~. BUFILE SIX ONE DASH ONE TWO NINE TWO. RE NY
TEL SEPTEMBER TWENTY SEVEN FIFTY FIVE ADVISING BEN MANDEL
REQUESTED SUBJECT TO FURNISH TOPICS UPON WHICH EARL BROWDER MIGHT
BE QUESTIONED ON SEPTEMBER TWENTY EIGHT. ON MORNING OF SEPTEMBER
TWENTY EIGHT [REDACTED] ADVISED SUBJECT CONTACTED ONE
BEN, BELIEVED TO BE MANDEL, AND FURNISHED THE LATTER THE FOLLOWING
SUBJECT STATED THE PAN PACIFIC BUREAU OR WHAT WAS LEFT OF IT WAS
TIED UP WITH THE SORGE APPARATUS. SUBJECT SUGGESTED IT WAS
IMPORTANT TO GO AFTER THE SORGE BUSINESS. BEN INQUIRED IF
HARRISON GEORGE WAS CONNECTED WITH THE ABOVE AND SUBJECT INFORMED
BEN IN AFFIRMATIVE STATING QUOTE "THEY ~~END QUOTE~~ WERE ALL ~~PAREN~~
(CONNECTED) ~~PAREN~~ BECAUSE SORGE WAS PUT INTO NAZI FOREIGN OFFICE
AND WENT TO TOKYO WHERE HE WAS THE KEY MAN. SUBJECT THEN MADE
REFERENCE TO THE LAZOVSKY ~~PAREN~~ (PHONETIC) ~~PAREN~~ APPARATUS AND
OPERATIONS IN CHINA. HE ~~PAREN~~ (POSSIBLY BROWDER) ~~PAREN~~ WAS IN
CHINA FOR A NUMBER OF MONTHS.

Mr. Belmont

CC: MR. BELMONT
AND SUPERVISOR
DOM. INTEL. DIVISION

END PAGE ONE

12 OCT 7 1955

NOT RECORDED

157 OCT 10 1955

Copy in 40-3798
(Browder)

b7D

b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN

PAGE TWO

SUBJECT SUGGESTED BEN GO INTO DETAIL CONCERNING THIS MATTER. SUBJECT STATED BROWDER-S VISIT TO MOSCOW AFTER HE WAS EXPELLED WAS MYSTIFYING. HE STATED BROWDER HAD SESSIONS WITH MOLOTOV AND LAZOFKY ~~PAREN~~ (PHONETIC) ~~PAREN~~. BEN DOUBTED, ACCORDING TO SOURCE, THAT HE ~~PAREN~~ (BROWDER) ~~PAREN~~ WOULD COOPERATE. SUBJECT NOTED THAT INFORMATION RE PAN PACIFIC BUREAU IS A MATTER OF PUBLIC RECORD. SUBJECT ALSO MADE REFERENCE TO BROWDER-S VISIT TO MANILA AND FELT A REFUSAL TO FURNISH INFORMATION ON THIS MATTER WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT. SUBJECT STATED THAT BROWDER WAS GIVEN A TEN THOUSAND DOLLAR BILL TO CHANGE IN MANILA AND UPON ARRIVING THERE MET DIFFICULTIES IN CONNECTION WITH HIS PASSPORT AND AUTHORITIES REQUESTED BROWDER LEAVE HIS PASSPORT PENDING A CHECK WITH THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT. BROWDER DECLINED TO DO THIS AND WAS LATER TRACED TO JAPAN. BEN INDICATED BROWDER WAS TRAVELING ON A FALSE PASSPORT. SUBJECT STATED SHORTLY AFTER BROWDER-S DEPARTURE FROM MANILA, THERE WAS A RAID BY THE JAPANESE POLICE ON THE PAN PACIFIC BUREAU HEADQUARTERS IN TOKYO AND CONSIDERABLE INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED INVOLVING LAZOFKY AND HARRISON GEORGE. BEN NOTED THAT BROWDER HAD EMPLOYED THE ALIASES OF ⁽³⁾WARD, DICKSON /PH/ AND ALBERT E. STORT ~~PAREN~~ (PHONETIC) ~~PAREN~~. BEN COMMENTED THAT

CORR..... PAGE 2 LINE 16 WRD 8 SHRD READ TOKYO RPT TOKYO

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

THESE ARE VERY GOOD ~~PAREN~~ (POINTS) ~~PAREN~~ AND HIS OPINION IS THAT BROWDER WILL NOT GIVE INFORMATION. BEN FELT THAT BROWDER IS GOING TO TRY TO GET BY BY NOT DOING ANYTHING. THIS WAS INDICATED TO BE A REFERENCE TO ANY COOPERATION ON THE PART OF BROWDER. SUBJECT POINTED OUT THAT DRAPER WHO OBTAINED POSITION FOR BROWDER WITH ~~QUOTE~~ " " ~~QUOTE~~ FORD ~~QUOTE~~ INFORMED HIM THAT BROWDER HAD STATED HE DID NOT REALIZE THAT THE COMINTERN HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE DIFFERENT PARTIES OR ANYTHING OF THAT SORT. SUBJECT RIDICULED SUCH A STATEMENT BY BROWDER. SUBJECT FURNISHED ABOVE FOR ASSISTENCE OF BEN AND SUGGESTED BEN PRESS ON BROWDER-S VISIT TO MOSCOW AND MEETING WITH MOLOTOV IN NINETEEN FORTY SIX. ATTENTION IS DIRECTED TO BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH ONE EIGHT ONE FIVE FIVE CONCERNING HARRISON GEORGE, OFFICE OF ORIGIN LOS ANGELES, POSSIBLY IDENTICAL WITH ABOVE REFERENCE.

KELLY

END ACK FOR 2 MESSAGES

4-12 PM OK FBI WA NG

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Best Copy Available

SEP 28 1955

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	
98-1000	

FBI NEW YORK

9-28-55

9-01 PM

MON

DIRECTOR

URGENT

[REDACTED] WAS, MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING PAREN
ESPIONAGE PAREN. BUFILE [REDACTED] RE NY

TEL SEPTEMBER TWENTY SEVEN FIFTY FIVE ADVISING BEN MANDEL
REQUESTED SUBJECT TO FURNISH TOPICS UPON WHICH EARL BROWDER MIGHT
BE QUESTIONED ON SEPTEMBER TWENTY EIGHT. ON MORNING OF SEPTEMBER
TWENTY EIGHT NY SIX HUNDRED DASH S ADVISED SUBJECT CONTACTED ONE
BEN, BELIEVED TO BE MANDEL, AND FURNISHED THE LATTER THE FOLLOWING.
SUBJECT STATED THE PAN PACIFIC BUREAU OR WHAT WAS LEFT OF IT WAS
TIED UP WITH THE SCORGE APPARATUS. SUBJECT SUGGESTED IT WAS
IMPORTANT TO GO AFTER THE SCORGE BUSINESS. BEN INQUIRED IF
HARRISON GEORGE WAS CONNECTED WITH THE ABOVE AND SUBJECT INFORMED
BEN IN AFFIRMATIVE STATING QUOTE THEY END QUOTE WERE ALL PAREN
CONNECTED PAREN BECAUSE SCORGE WAS PUT INTO NAZI FOREIGN OFFICE
AND WENT TO TOKYO WHERE HE WAS THE KEY MAN. SUBJECT THEN MADE
REFERENCE TO THE LAZOFKY PAREN PHONETIC PAREN APPARATUS AND
OPERATIONS IN CHINA. HE PAREN POSSIBLY BROWDER PAREN WAS IN
CHINA FOR A NUMBER OF MONTHS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/3/97 BY [REDACTED]

ORIGINAL

END PAGE ONE

140-3798-
NOT RECORDED
195 OCT 6 1955

original is in 61-1292

File 40-3798 (Brande)

71 OCT 6 1955

b7D

b6
b7C

Best Copy Available

PAGE TWO

SUBJECT SUGGESTED BEN GO INTO DETAIL CONCERNING THIS MATTER. SUBJECT STATED BROWDER-S VISIT TO MOSCOW AFTER HE WAS EXPELLED WAS MYSTIFYING. HE STATED BROWDER HAD SESSIONS WITH MOLOTOV AND LAZOFKY PAREN PHONETIC PAREN. BEN DOUBTED, ACCORDING TO SOURCE, THAT HE PAREN BROWDER PAREN WOULD COOPERATE. SUBJECT NOTED THAT INFORMATION RE PAN PACIFIC BUREAU IS A MATTER OF PUBLIC RECORD. SUBJECT ALSO MADE REFERENCE TO BROWDER-S VISIT TO MANILA AND FELT A REFUSAL TO FURNISH INFORMATION ON THIS MATTER WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT. SUBJECT STATED THAT BROWDER WAS GIVEN A TEN THOUSAND DOLLAR BILL TO CHANGE IN MANILA AND UPON ARRIVING THERE MET DIFFICULTIES IN CONNECTION WITH HIS PASSPORT AND AUTHORITIES REQUESTED BROWDER LEAVE HIS PASSPORT PENDING A CHECK WITH THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT. BROWDER DECLINED TO DO THIS AND WAS LATER TRACED TO JAPAN. BEN INDICATED BROWDER WAS TRAVELING ON A FALSE PASSPORT. SUBJECT STATED SHORTLY AFTER BROWDER-S DEPARTURE FROM MANILA, THERE WAS A RAID BY THE JAPANESE POLICE ON THE PAN PACIFIC BUREAU HEADQUARTERS IN TOKYO AND CONSIDERABLE INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED INVOLVING LAZOFKY AND HARRISON GEORGE. BEN NOTED THAT BROWDER HAD EMPLOYED THE ALIASES OF WARD, DICKSON /PH/ AND ALBERT E. STORT PAREN PHONETIC PAREN. BEN COMMENTED THAT

CORR..... PAGE 2 LINE 16 WRD 8 SHRD READ TOKYO RPT TOKYO

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

THESE ARE VERY GOOD PAREN POINTS PAREN AND HIS OPINION IS THAT BROWDER WILL NOT GIVE INFORMATION. BEN FELT THAT BROWDER IS GOING TO TRY TO GET BY BY NOT DOING ANYTHING. THIS WAS INDICATED TO BE A REFERENCE TO ANY COOPERATION ON THE PART OF BROWDER. SUBJECT POINTED OUT THAT DRAPER WHO OBTAINED POSITION FOR BROWDER WITH QUOTE FORD QUOTE INFORMED HIM THAT BROWDER HAD STATED HE DID NOT REALIZE THAT THE COMINTERN HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE DIFFERENT PARTIES OR ANYTHING OF THAT SORT. SUBJECT RIDICULED SUCH A STATEMENT BY BROWDER. SUBJECT FURNISHED ABOVE FOR ASSISTENCE OF BEN AND SUGGESTED BEN PRESS ON BROWDER-S VISIT TO MOSCOW AND MEETING WITH MOLOTOV IN NINETEEN FORTY SIX. ATTENTION IS DIRECTED TO BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH ONE EIGHT ONE FIVE FIVE CONCERNING HARRISON GEORGE, OFFICE OF ORIGIN LOS ANGELES, POSSIBLY IDENTICAL WITH ABOVE REFERENCE.

KELLY

END ACK FOR 2 MESSAGES

4-12 PM OK FBI WA NG

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Best Copy Available

Donahue
Baker
Mooney
Belmont

Assistant Attorney General
William L. Tompkins

(orig & 1)

October 3, 1955

Director, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON 1/15/97

b6
b7C
b7D

DISSEMINATION - INFORMATION CONTAINED

(ESPIONAGE)

Reference is made to our previous correspondence and to the reports furnished to you concerning the subject who is Executive Secretary of the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). An extremely delicate source which has furnished reliable information in the past advised on September 28, 1955, that [redacted] discussed Earl Browder with a person believed by the informant to be Len Landel who is employed by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. According to our source, Landel was interested in receiving various topics upon which Earl Browder might be questioned on September 28, last. Informant indicated that this might be referring to calling Browder before the afore-mentioned Senate Committee.

b7D

[redacted] furnished Landel the following items concerning Browder's background which he thought Landel might find useful in questioning Browder. It was indicated, however, by Landel that he did not expect Browder to cooperate. The subject suggested that it was important to go after the "Sorge Apparatus" and its tie-up with the Pan Pacific Bureau or what was left of it. The subject stated that one Harrison George was connected with the above and he stated that Sorge was put into the Nazi Foreign Office and went to Tokyo where he was the key man. He indicated that Browder was in China for a number of months. He also stated that Browder's visit to Moscow after he was expelled was mystifying. [redacted] said Browder had sessions with Molotov and Lazofsky. [redacted] noted that information regarding the Pan Pacific Bureau is a matter of public record. [redacted] also made reference to Browder's visit to Manila in the Philippines and he felt that a refusal on Browder's part to furnish

b7D

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Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

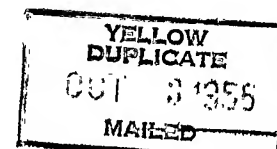
cc - 40-3798 (Browder)
cc - 100-18155 (George)

NOT RECORDED
157 OCT 7 1955

PMB:bob

(8)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



58 OCT 18 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN 61-1

Memorandum for Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

information on this matter would be significant. He said that Browder was given a \$10,000 bill to change in Manila and upon arriving there met with difficulties in connection with his passport and the authorities requested that Browder leave his passport pending a check with the Treasury Department. Browder declined to do this and was later traced to Japan. Mandel indicated, according to our source, that [] Browder had traveled on a false passport. [] stated that shortly after Browder's departure from Manila there was a raid by the Japanese Police on the Pan Pacific Bureau Headquarters in Tokyo and considerable information was obtained involving one Lazofsky and Harrison George. Mandel indicated his appreciation to the subject for the afore-mentioned points. [] further pointed out that Browder had made a recent statement that he did not realize that the Comintern had anything to do with the different parties or anything of that sort. This possibly refers to the Communist Party as it exists in various countries. [] ridiculed such a statement by Browder. [] again suggested to Mandel that he press on Browder's visit to Moscow and his meeting with Molotov in 1946.

b7D

With respect to his reference to the "Sorge Apparatus" [] may be referring to the Richard Sorge Russian espionage ring which successfully penetrated high policy-making levels of the Japanese Government in the late 1930's and early 1940's. You have been furnished reports concerning Harrison George and Earl Browder. It is noted that Harrison George was a member of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1947; was affiliated with the Pan Pacific Bureau and was reportedly an operative of the Communist International in China and South America. The source was unable to provide any further details regarding the above.

b7D

The above is for your information. In view of the delicate source of the above, it is requested that this material not be further disseminated.

61-1292

AIR-TEL
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 9/28/55

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

BUREAU

EARL BROWDER
IS-C

ReNYlet 1/11/55; NYairtels 3/10,24/55.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Sizoo _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

[redacted] advised a source of his whose identity he did not care to reveal has told him that CLINTON ROSSITER, Professor of Government, Cornell University, was "recently" interviewed by two FBI agents who were making inquiry concerning the study of Communism being undertaken by a group of scholars. ROSSITER is the head of the project which is being financed by The Fund for the Republic, a grantee of the Ford Foundation.

[redacted] said as a result of the FBI visit, ROSSITER was greatly upset and has issued directions that the study is an "academic project and no information from it will be provided to anyone until completed".

According to [redacted] ROSSITER made a press release concerning the study shortly after he was interviewed by the agents and he is supposed to have made it clear that no more information would be released by his group.

[redacted] advised as a result of ROSSITER's present attitude he doubted if he would be able to obtain any information concerning the progress of the project and specifically the results of the BROWDER interviews in the future.

[redacted] said he has learned that to date the BROWDER interviews in connection with the project have only concerned the theory of Communism prior to 1937. He has not been furnishing the Bureau with information concerning BROWDER's interviews since he felt sure the Bureau was already aware of this information.

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED) (40-3798)
1 - Albany (REGISTERED)
1 - NY 100-112646
1 - NY 62-11509

CDS:BHT (#20-9)
100-25693

Approved: [signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Mr. Belmont

Sent _____ M _____ Per _____

14 SEP 29 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/13/99 BY [signature]

RECORDED-37

EX-121

40-3798-738

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

PAGE TWO

[redacted] was assured that [redacted] confidential by the Bureau at all times and he said he appreciated this. [redacted]

[redacted] expressed concern that the Bureau was contacting ROSSITER regarding the project. He feels ROSSITER would "resent any interference" from any outside group including the FBI.

[redacted] has indicated his willingness to continue to cooperate with the Bureau and subsequent to the above call furnished information regarding a CP cell in the New York theatre.

For the information of Albany, [redacted] initially furnished information regarding ROSSITER's project in December, 1954. At that time he said he would be in a position to furnish the Bureau with any pertinent information BROWDER was giving the project.

"The Herald - Statesman", Yonkers, NY, newspaper, 9/16/55, contains article datelined "Ithaca (AP)" captioned, "BROWDER Fee Revealed By Study Group", reflecting information concerning project as furnished by ROSSITER.

The NYO has no indication that ROSSITER has been interviewed in connection with the Communism study or in connection with The Fund for the Republic.

NYairtel entitled, "FORD FOUNDATION; FUND FOR FREEDOM, INC. (THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC); INFORMATION CONCERNING", 9/12/55, indicated the Internal Revenue Service was initiating an investigation of this organization and the possibility exists ROSSITER was interviewed by Internal Revenue Agents. Furnished for information.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____
KELLY

b7D

b7D

b7D

b7D

9-29-55
Called AGNC JAMISON ALBANY
AND INSTRUCTED HE FURNISH TELEPHONE
DETAILS ANY CONTACT WITH REED
Q61

DATE: *October 3, 1955*

Tolson _____
Boardman ☒
Nichols ☒
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C

The following information was furnished to Liaison Agent Papich on September 30, 1955, by [redacted]

[redacted] advised the informant that a Congressional committee plans to call Earl Browder to testify before the committee. According to [redacted] Browder will be asked several questions concerning the Fund for the Republic. The committee assumes that Browder will refuse to answer some questions and so doing will actually hurt the prestige of the Fund for the Republic. The informant did not know the identity of the Congressional committee. Inasmuch as [redacted] has frequent dealings with Ben Mandel, very likely that the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security is involved. (S)

Similar information, as set forth above, was furnished to the Bureau by New York teletype September 27, 1955, captioned [redacted]

ACTION:

None. For your information.

SJP:pyr
(7)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baken
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Section Tickler
1 - S. J. Papich

12 OCT 7 1955

RECORDED -

50 OCT 18 1955

~~SECRET~~

~~50 OCT 12 1955~~

BEAD

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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1

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. V. Boardman

DATE: 10-3-55

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURY
FBI File 40-3798

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

By letter dated August 31, 1955, New York Office recommended deletion of subject's name from the Security Index.

A review of the Bureau file and New York letter reflects subject was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party (CP) from 1922 until 1945, was general Secretary of the CP from 1930 to 1944, was President of the Communist Political Association (CPA) in 1944 and 1945 and was expelled from the CP in February 1946 for violation of Party discipline and his betrayal of the principles of Marxism and Leninism. During subject's long history of CP activity, reliable informants advised he had knowledge of and assisted in espionage activities of the CP, gave funds to the Party's illegal apparatus, visited Russia, refused to answer questions concerning CP membership on ground of self-incrimination when testifying before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee in March 1953, and unsuccessfully attempted to be reinstated in the CP in 1948. Subject has been interviewed by Bureau Agents on numerous occasions and although friendly refused to furnish information concerning his own activities or the activities of persons known to him. On September 26, 1952, subject was indicted on a perjury charge arising from false statements made by him under oath regarding his wife's naturalization petition. He has as yet not been brought to trial on this charge.

b6
b7c

In view of subject's long history of leadership in the Communist Party and his refusal to answer questions concerning subversive affairs before a Governmental body in 1953 his Security Index card should be retained.

RECOMMENDATION: If you approve, there is enclosed a letter to New York Office advising of subject's retention in the Security Index.

Enclosure

cc Boardman
Belmont
Rushing
Harrington
VDH:pat (5)

RECORDED - 50-3798-737

OCT 17 1955

SNIP 135
734
906/11 F342

SUBV CONTROL
JFB
C
WIK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/14/01 BY

cc Boardman
Belmont
Rushing
Harrington

SAC, New York (100-25693)
RECORDED - 59

October 4, 1955

Director, FBI (40-3798)

737

EX - 113

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURY

Card U.T.D.
10-12-55 *th*

Reurlet August 31, 1955.

In view of subject's long history of leadership in the Communist Party and his refusal to answer questions before a Senate committee in 1953, his card is being retained in the Security Index. Inasmuch as subject has had knowledge of and assisted in espionage activities of the Communist Party in the past, it is felt he presents a potential threat to the security of the United States in the event of a national emergency and Detcom tabbing is being retained for the subject.

b6
b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/13/99 BY

OK DETCOM

See Belmont memo to Boardman re same caption VDH:pat dated 10-3-55.

VDH:pat
(7) *pat*

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

COMM - FBI
OCT 4 1955
MAILED 30

son _____
rdman _____
hols _____
mont _____
bo _____
k _____
sons _____
en _____
in _____
co _____
arrowd _____
Room _____
man _____

OCT 10 1955

[Handwritten initials]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *V. per B*

FROM : L. B. Nichols *pmh*

SUBJECT: (1)
EARL BROWDER

DATE: October 8, 1955 *cc*

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Jay Sourwine told me that Tompkins had agreed that the Internal Security Subcommittee could offer Browder immunity under the new Immunity Statute.

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:ptm
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/14/01 BY [redacted]

RECORDED - 8

NOV

OCT 18 1955

40-3798-737X

OCT 18 1955

SUBV. CONTROL

b6
b7c

OCT 21 1955
OCT 7 1958 *ng*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc - Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Bly

40-3798

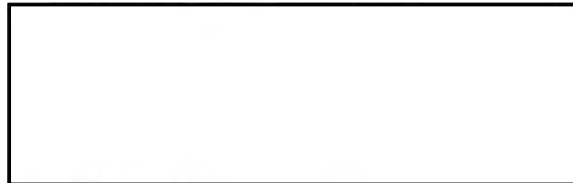


b6
b7C

12-14-01

Date: October 24, 1955

To:



BY COURIER SERVICE

b3

Washington, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Earlier this month Earl Russell Browder had dinner with a couple who confidentially made Browder's comments available to this Bureau. It is not possible to evaluate the credence which should be placed in Browder's statements; however, the couple who furnished the information have a good reputation and

b7D

Earl Russell Browder was the General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, from the early 1930's until he was ousted from Party leadership at a National Convention in July, 1945. According to the February 14, 1946, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper, Earl Browder was expelled from the Communist Party on February 13, 1946, by the National Committee of the Communist Party acting on the recommendation of the National Board, Communist Party, USA - for gross violation of Party discipline and decisions, for active opposition to the political line and leadership of the Party, for developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy - American monopoly capital.

In view of Browder's former position in the Communist Party, USA, it is believed that you will be interested in the attached memorandum which sets forth the essence of Browder's statements to the couple mentioned above, particularly since Browder comments on items of interest on the international and domestic scene.

Enclosure

EX-118

NOTE: The Couple mentioned in this communication is

The identity of is being concealed upon the recommendation of Mr. E.B. Nichols. See memo Belmont to Boardman, same caption, 10/21/55, HOB:ejf.

HOB:ejf (9)

b7D

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

BY COURIER SERVICE
OCT 26 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to

[Redacted]

b3

2cc

[Redacted]

BY COURIER SERVICE

Washington, D. C.

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: October 18, 1955

FROM : R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY OF EARL BROWDER
BEFORE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE
ON INTERNAL SECURITY
EXECUTIVE SESSION, 10-6-55

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Under date of 4-1-55 the Bureau advised the Attorney General that Earl Browder, former General Chairman, Communist Party (CP), USA, was furnishing information re history of the American CP to Theodore Draper, who is preparing a study in that subject matter for the Fund for the Republic. It was also stated that the Fund has contacted Browder to use his services as a Consultant for this study. (40-270-724, 728; 100-391697-146)

On 10-6-55 Browder testified before Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security (Eastland Committee) in Executive Session, which is conducting hearings relative to the "strategy and tactics of world Communism." Browder stated he is presently employed by Daniel Bell and Theodore Draper, who are preparing a history of Communist movement in the United States for the Fund for the Republic. He added he is source of information for the development of the facts relative to this subject matter and that his salary of \$9,600 for one year's employment is paid by the Fund through Bell. Browder emphasized he is not employed by the Fund.

Bell, who is conducting a study for the Fund entitled "Communism in the Labor Movement," has not been investigated by Bureau. In 1943-44 he spoke at a rally on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, led by Attorney General. In his speeches and writing Bell has criticized the CP and Communist front groups. (100-391697-65)

Draper has not been investigated by the Bureau. He admittedly was member of National Student League (cited by a Congressional Committee); was employed by the "Daily Worker," 1934-1936, and "New Masses," 1936-1940, both Communist publications, and by Russian Tass News Agency, 1939. He also admittedly followed the CP line until 1941 but denied CP membership.

The Bureau has received Volume 29, dated 10-6-55, of Browder's testimony before the Eastland Committee, which is being reviewed to determine if he furnished any pertinent information not previously made to the Bureau.

ACTION: None. For your information.

J. W. Belmont

J. W. Brown

1 - Central Research Section

1 - Section Wickler

1 - P. C. Young

NOT RECORDED

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INITIALS OF OFFICIAL

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DECLASSIFIED

ON 12/14/01

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COMMENTS OF EARL BROWDER

October, 1955

Earl Browder came for dinner and it was a most interesting evening. He told us he was working for the Fund for the Republic which was the first real job he had had since he left the Party. He was greatly worried that the Internal Security Committee of the Senate would investigate the Fund and he would lose his job. He told us it was a very simple job, for him, because he was working with two or three men who were putting together a history of the Communist Party. All he had to do was to tell them what documents to look for and where to look for them. He said the history before 1945 was fairly simple, but from that time on it was a scrambled affair.

He said he had talked with a Russian, the night before, who had escaped from Russia during the revolution. He said this man was very learned and very intelligent, but still he did not understand the Communists. He said the man asked him if he had known Stalin. Browder told him he had never seen Stalin, which most people would not believe. He said that after 1929, you could only see Stalin when Stalin asked for the interview and he never asked to see Browder. Browder said, as head of the U.S. Party, he could have asked to see Stalin, but he never did. However, he said he went to Moscow every year until the war started, to discuss the "line." He said that often he proposed a line which the leaders of Russia did not go along with, but that eventually, he won out. He said for two reasons: one that he understood the USA better than the Russians did, and second, the Communist Party in the U.S. was working so much to Russia's advantage the Soviets did not want to disturb it.

I asked him if he had ever known about Hiss and White, etc. He said Hiss was not even a name to him. He said he knew White but knew nothing about the cell, "if there ever was one."

We mentioned the "Daily Worker" and he said he had not read it in years. He commented that it was no good any more and maybe that was because there were so many FBI men working there. He added that when he was head of the Party, he knew there was an FBI man in his office, although he did not know which one. Some of his colleagues, he said, told him they were worried about it, but he told them not to worry because everything he did was in the open and he worked in a goldfish bowl.

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He said there were so few people who understood the Communist Party. He said the people he worked with on the Fund did not seem to understand what he was talking about. But he said, at least they were anxious to get "facts" and he was able to get the "facts" for them. He claimed his colleagues were interested in "history," which helped to make his job pleasant.

I asked him what he thought of the "Spirit of Geneva," and his reply was, "If you like the taste of ersatz liquor, it's alright." However, he told us that the U. S. was playing its cards so badly that within ten years Russia would have all of Africa and all of Asia, to say nothing of Europe. He agreed that Russia was winning over Africa with nationalism and not Communism.

I asked him what candidate the Communist Party wanted for President. He said that they did not know until Moscow told them. I asked if Stevenson would not suit them and he said that Moscow always distrusted Liberals. I asked what kind of a candidate they wanted, and he said, "a man who can get elected four terms." We asked him about Knowland and he said he thought Knowland was a strong man. He said he would like to see Knowland elected. He said he may not agree with Knowland all the time, but at least he stuck by his convictions. After a while he brought up the subject of Knowland again. I asked him what kind of a campaign he thought Knowland should have. He said the most important thing for Knowland was to have the unions back of him. We asked if the union leaders could dictate the vote of labor. He said, "Only if the union men agreed with their leaders." I asked him specifically how Knowland could appeal to labor. He said first of all, they wanted peace. He said every family worries about their sons going to war, and he said the candidate must "promise" peace, but not tell the public how he was going about getting it. He said it was important that the candidate know what he was going to do about it and set out to do it. He said Knowland must be forceful in foreign relations, and that he must not advocate "an understanding," which I took to mean that having "an understanding" with Russia would not work. He said Ike's popularity was obtained because he promised two things and did both. "He promised to go to Korea if elected and he did; and he promised to end the war, and he did." "Never mind what he did in Korea or that the armistice was broken by the Reds. The public don't know that or don't remember it."

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He also said Knowland should appeal to labor with "security." I said that I personally was very tired of having "peace," "security" and all the rest of these slogans jammed down my throat. He said he agreed and that Knowland must have new slogans with the same meanings.

This brought him to say that at one time he was the smartest politician in the U. S. He said he had picked up all the riffraff and bobtails and organized them, that he had full control of the AF of L and the CIO. He said that it was at his "dictation" that Roosevelt ran for the 3rd and 4th terms. He said that the Democrats couldn't make up their minds, and that by his campaign and pushing he had all the Democratic leaders coming to Washington hoping to be the first to advocate F.D. Roosevelt's running again.

We told him about Knowland's statement about segregation - that he was against segregation, but that he thought that it was a State rights affair. Browder said that when he was a young Socialist in 1917 he was against the war and brought a suit about it. He claimed that the Constitution specifically says that the levying of troops must be done by the states, but he said he was put in jail and that the court claimed that his bringing suit was a "conspiracy." So Browder said, State rights have already been taken away.

Browder claimed that Russia did not want China in the United Nations. He said that the Red Chinese were on the upgrade and Russia was afraid for them to get too strong. If they were admitted to the UN they then could have relations with all other nations, which would make them more powerful than they are. He claimed that the Soviets were doing everything to antagonize the U.S. so that we would be firm against Red China's admission, but he was in favor of the U.S. recognizing Red China. He said it was the only way to keep Japan out of Russian domination. He also said he felt the time would come when China would take Outer Mongolia, etc., from Russia. Browder claimed that a strong foreign policy which said what it meant and stuck to it, plus trade with Russia, etc., would keep the peace. We disagreed over Chiang Kai-shek but agreed that our vacillating policy toward him was disastrous.

He also said Knowland should promise to do something about the schools. He said he had moved to Yonkers 23 years ago so that his children could go to good schools, but now they are a disgrace and are the same all over the country. He said a laboring man worries when he sees the awful schools his children have to go to. He advocated that Federal funds should be used for the schools.

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He made the astonishing statement that there were only about 5,000 Communists in the U.S. He said about 2,000 were in New York and about 400 in Chicago. He said there were far less than when he was head of the Party, no matter what Hoover said. He said this was because the Communists did not have an issue to "make Communists." He said he "made Communists" by helping those in trouble, helping evicted families, giving them food, etc. I asked him what about the intellectuals who weren't poor. He said that they became Communists because "it was fashionable."

He told us that he was under indictment because he had lied about his wife's not being a member of the Communist Party. He said it was not a lie, that she was well thought of by the big shots in Moscow and worked for them, but she was not a member of the Party. He said he thought one of the reasons she married him was because he was one person not under Moscow discipline. He said when they were married she worked in his office, but still was not a member of the Party.

He said two of his sons had served their two years in the Army, that one of them has a Ph.D. in mathematics, and he thought it was ridiculous that the Army had given him a gas station attendant job. He said he thought it was the parents who worried about the boys having to do a two-year stretch in the Army, but he thought it was good for the boys. He said his boys came out tougher and better boys.

Browder said that "the art of conversation" seemed to be lost. He was afraid to argue with anyone because they always got mad, but he enjoyed talking with us because we could disagree and still discuss.

Browder said it took a lot to make a Communist, that they didn't become Communists by going to secret cell meetings. I asked him if it was not true that they had to learn Marx and Engels in classes. He did not quite answer this but perhaps it was my fault. I asked if that was not what the Jefferson School was for. He said that, of course, the Jefferson School taught all sorts of other things as well as having classes on Marx and Engels, but it was just a sort of glamorous thing to do. He said in his days the school had as many as 5,000 students a year. Now it only has about 800 or less - that the school didn't amount to anything any more.

Browder also said that it was Russia who started the Korean war. The Chinese got in on the act because it was an Asiatic war and they wanted control.

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He also said that a U. S. policy should be to help "backward countries" become prosperous countries. He favored this over sending aid to countries such as England, France, etc.

It is curious to note that the trend of all his conversation was to minimize the strength of the Communist Party in the U. S. This ties in with a statement by Hutchins in the October 8 issue of the "Herald Tribune," page three, "... the fund is financing 'the definitive study of what the Communist Party has amounted to in this country' and what it amounts to now." This is the department in which Browder is working.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~⁵

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc - Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Bly

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

October 24, 1955

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
FBI File 40-3798

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON 12/14/01

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Earlier this month, Earl Russell Browder had dinner with a couple who confidentially made Browder's comments available to this Bureau. It is not possible to evaluate the credence which should be placed in Browder's statements; however, the couple who furnished the information have a good reputation and the husband is [redacted] b7D

Earl Russell Browder was the General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, from the early 1930's until he was ousted from Party leadership at a National Convention in July, 1945. According to the February 14, 1946, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper, Earl Browder was expelled from the Communist Party on February 13, 1946, by the National Committee of the Communist Party acting on the recommendation of the National Board, Communist Party, USA - for gross violation of Party discipline and decisions, for active opposition to the political line and leadership of the Party, for developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy - American monopoly, capital.

In view of Browder's former position in the Communist Party, USA, it is believed that you will be interested in the attached memorandum which sets forth the essence of Browder's statements to the couple mentioned above, particularly since Browder comments on items of interest on the international and domestic scene.

ENCLOSURE
Enclosure

RECORDED - 71 40-3798-739

NOTE ON YELLOW: The couple mentioned in this communication is [redacted] b7D

Mr. L. B. Nichols. See memorandum Belmont to Boardman 10/21/55 re above subject; HOB:ejf.

HOB:ejf
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COMM - FBI

OCT 25 1955

MAILED 19

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August 27, 1958

Best Copy Available

MR. W. J. BAUMGARDNER

1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
 1 - Central Research Section
 1 - Mr. Haack
 1 - Mr. Cramer

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Earl Browder, former leader of the Communist Party (CP) of the United States was interviewed on 8-27-58 on Dave Garroway's television program "Today." In the absence of Garroway, who is on vacation, the interview was conducted by Charles Van Doren, the Columbia University professor, who attracted nationwide attention in winning a considerable sum of money on the quiz program "Twenty One." Browder referred to a recent book he has written entitled "Marx And America" which deals with the subject why communism has failed in the United States. Browder gave as the two principal reasons for this failure:

1. Incompetent and "quite stupid" leadership.
2. Basic mistakes in Marxist theory. One mistake mentioned was Marx's estimation of the role of capitalism in the United States.

Browder denied having ever received orders from Russia while he was leader of the CP in this country. He said that the Russians "strangely enough" treated him with a great deal of respect. He then qualified his denial of ever having received orders by stating that he "had a pretty free hand with very little interference." Browder described Khrushchev as "shrewd and capable" and again compared him to Mr. Charles Wilson, former Secretary of Defense. When questioned regarding forcing individuals to identify communists before legislative committees, Browder said, "It is a great mistake from a point of view of American national policy."

Near the conclusion of the interview, Browder was asked what his reply would be if Khrushchev told him that the CP in the United States has "gone to pot" and that he, Browder, was the only one who could put it back on its feet. Browder said that he would ask Khrushchev to make that statement publicly before he could even expect Browder to consider.

With regard to Browder's "Marx And America" the Central Research Section has the book and is currently reviewing it.

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ACTION:

None. For information.

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1 - Bufile (Earl Browder)

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ORIGINAL FILE IN

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MR. A. H. BELMONT

October 24,
1955

MR. R. C. ROACH

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EARL BROWDERPLATYFONY BEFORE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY
SUBCOMMITTEE (EASTLAND COMMITTEE), WASHINGTON, D. C.
VOLUME 29, OCTOBER 6, 1955, EXECUTIVE SESSION

Stenographic transcript of captioned testimony received from Eastland Committee. Photostat made and original returned to Committee.

This volume of testimony records the appearance of Earl Browder before the above-captioned committee, on October 6, 1955, in Executive session. Browder, former general chairman of Communist Party, U.S.A., testified that he is presently employed by Daniel Bell and Theodore Draper who are preparing a history of the Communist movement in the United States for the Fund for the Republic. He stated that he is a source of information for the development of the facts relative to this subject matter and that he is to receive a salary of \$3600 for one year's employment, which salary is paid by the Fund for the Republic through Bell. Browder emphasized in his testimony that he is not employed by the Fund for the Republic.

Browder was also questioned concerning his past Communist activities and his knowledge of numerous Communist Party individuals both in this country and abroad, and in all of these instances he declined to answer and took refuge behind the Fifth Amendment.

Other than the information concerning his assisting the Fund for the Republic, there is no information in the testimony calling for any action by the Bureau at this time. The information concerning his assisting the Fund for the Republic has been the subject of a separate memorandum to you dated October 14, 1955

ACTION:

(1) The original of this memorandum and a Photostat of the testimony should be placed in the Eastland Control File 62-88217.

To: Boardman

Nichols

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Parsons

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Winterrowd

Tele. Room

Holloman

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(C)

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Belmont

Yellow (40-2283)

Section 11(c)

Mr. Landis

140-3717-✓
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ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-88217-

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Memorandum Book to Belmont

(*) A yellow copy of this memorandum is being designated
for the main file of Earl Browder 40-3782.

102308

From The Hall-Syndicate, Inc.
342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.
FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

INSIDE LABOR

By Victor Riesel

10/30/55
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Miss Gandy

Let's make this clear. The government counter-espionage agencies, the FBI and the Dept. of Justice, have been harassed by an outcry from certain quarters against the use of paid informers --- especially against the use of ex-Communists.

Now, as I was first to report, a study group of the Fund For The Republic has hired the No. 1 ex-Communist and is paying him for information and for his "comments on events in which he is presumed to have taken a vital part."

The ex-Communist is Earl Browder, former boss of the American Communist Party. The events referred to are a series of conspiracies against the U.S. and in behalf of the Soviet government, including those during the years when the civilized world fought the Nazis while the Russians coddled and wooed them.

It was Earl Browder's own followers, taking orders from his own Communist politburo in the U.S., who worked closely with the German-American Bund in certain parts of this country, I want to report in passing.

There has been no similar outcry against the use by the Fund for the Republic of ex-Communist Earl Browder as an informer.

Browder himself has been using a kind of elite approach --- selecting whom he would talk. One of "those" has been the Fund's Rossiter study group preparing a report on Communism in the U.S. One of "those" has not been the government of the U.S.

But ex-Comrade Browder's sense of destiny and his uncomradely disdain for those of his former followers who have spoken to government people, doesn't alter the fact --- Mr. Browder is now informing. And for a price.

I'm delighted there is no outcry. There would have been had he taken money from the Republic of the U.S. for informing instead of from the Fund for the Republic. Why a double standard?

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-89 BY [redacted]

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RECORDED - 75
INDEXED - 15

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Send copies to A. G. Rogers

SUBV. COMMITTEE

-MORE-

A Fund for the Republic spokesman says that, "Browder is not an employee, a consultant, a staff member, a project member, a researcher or any other kind of employee or associate of this project or the Fund for the Republic. The project has paid Browder for his comments on events in which he is presumed to have taken a vital part..."

"The Rossiter project, as a scholarly and objective study, is required to track down every possible source of information pertinent to the project," said the Fund spokesman.

"This is the only way such a study can be conducted. At the same time, under no condition will Browder have anything to do with the results of the various studies, judgments or interpretations expressed nor the placement of so much as a comma.

"His comments will be accepted or rejected, in part or in whole, by those persons directing the study, on the basis of scholarly evaluation and comparison with the evidence supplied by others."

That's the Fund's position. I can show you a dozen statements issued by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and officials of the Justice Dept. wearily trying to make the same point above the din of criticism against their use of Browder's former followers.

There doesn't seem to be any objection anywhere to the use of Browder as an informant. There is anger in certain circles over Browder's refusal to talk to the government about events -- especially inside labor over the past 20 years -- while he is talking about the same subjects to members of the Fund's study group.

It is vital that Browder talk to the Government now. I have on my desk documents proving that small cells -- ranging from one to six men -- are being planted inside big unions and big plants.

I'll tell those stories soon enough. But sufficient now to report that the documents state bluntly that the time has come to "reactivate...older comrades...on the whole inactive now." The new Communist Party apparatus is on the move, using the older men as "cadres."

Who are these older comrades? For what have they been trained? How do they get their orders? Browder knows the answers.

If he is talking, then let him really talk where it will do some good. The only vital issue is the safety of this republic.

(Copyright 1955, The Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

P. C. Young
Section Chief
Mr. J. T. Tully
Yellow (40-3743)
ellow (100-391697)

Best Copy Available

1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Internal Sec. Sect.

October 20, 1955

2 - orig. & dupl.

RECORDED - 75 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

DIRECTOR, FBI

EARL ROBERT BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-89 BY [redacted]

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Reference is made to my memo of April 1, 1955, which reported that the Fund for the Republic had contacted Earl Browder to use his services as a consultant for the comprehensive history of American Communism which that organization is compiling.

An October 20, 1955, press release of The Hall Syndicate, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York, captioned "Inside Labor," by Victor Riesel, points out that the FBI and the Department of Justice have been harassed by an outcry from certain quarters against the use of paid informers, especially against the use of ex-Communists, but there has been no similar outcry against the use by the Fund for the Republic of ex-Communist Earl Browder as an informer. Riesel also points out that it is the Fund's contention that under no condition will Browder have anything to do with the results of various studies, judgements, or interpretations expressed by the Fund but that his comments will be accepted or rejected by those persons directing the study on the basis of scholarly evaluation and comparison with the evidence supplied by others. Riesel notes that the Fund's position concerning the use of Browder is the same as that which the officials of the Department of Justice and this Bureau have tried to make above the din of criticism against our use of paid informers. Riesel criticizes Browder for acting as an informer for the Fund on the same subjects on which he refuses to furnish information to the Government.

For your information, there is transmitted herewith a Photostat of the aforementioned press release.

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1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

(with enclosure)

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

(with enclosure)

EJT:dje:mer (13)

holmes

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: October 21,
1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Bufile 40-3798ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/14/01 BY [redacted]

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On October 5, 1955, Earl Browder had dinner with [redacted] b7D

[redacted] furnished Mr. L. B. Nichols a four-page typewritten summary of the essence of the conversation taking place with Browder. Browder was the General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, from the early 1930's until he was ousted from Party leadership in July, 1945.

It is impossible to determine how much credence can be placed in Browder's statements to the [redacted] however, since his remarks include statements relative to the international situation, it is believed that this information should be disseminated to the [redacted] b3

The identity of the [redacted] b7D
[redacted] will not be revealed in this dissemination.

In his discussion with the [redacted] Browder advised of b7D his work for the Fund for the Republic which consisted of helping two or three men who were putting together a history of the Communist Party. Browder indicated that he was worried that the Internal Security Committee of the Senate would investigate the Fund for the Republic and he would lose his job. Browder stated that the United States is playing its part so badly that within ten years Russia would have all of Africa and all of Asia, to say nothing of Europe. Browder claimed that Russia did not want China in the United Nations. Browder also indicated that he would like to see Senator Knowland elected President of the United States.

Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr. Roach to Mr. Belmont dated October 18, 1955, which revealed that on October 6, 1955, Browder testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security (Eastland Committee) in Executive Session, which is conducting hearings relative to the "strategy and tactics of world Communism." Browder's testimony is being reviewed to determine if he furnished any pertinent information not previously known to the Bureau.

Enclosures *sent* 10-25-55
cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Bly

RECORDED-27 40-3798-741
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HOB:ejf (5)

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b7D

2008-03-13

E, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1955

Fund for Republic Foes Denounced by Hutchins

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7 (AP).—Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, said today that persons "afraid of the truth" have spread false hints that the fund's civil liberties investigators slant their reports to support Left-wing prejudices.

"The professors who direct these studies have complete freedom," Dr. Hutchins, former

chancellor of the University of Chicago, told the American Veterans' Committee in a prepared address.

Dr. Hutchins received one of the veteran organization's annual Bill of Rights awards. The Fund for the Republic, lately under attack by groups including high officials of the American Legion, was set up in 1953 by the Ford Foundation as an independent unit to study freedom of civil rights.

Dr. Hutchins denied there is any Left-wing slant among the fund's officers and directors, who include Paul G. Hoffman, the industrialist who first headed this country's Economic Cooperation Administration under the Marshall Plan.

Asserting that some political figures and commentators are spreading false rumors about the fund's investigators, Dr. Hutchins said "it has been insinuated that in return for money . . . they will oblige by digging up facts to support any prejudice that any officer or director of the fund may have."

"Afraid of the Truth"

"This insinuation is so outrageous," he said, "that it must arise out of acute alarm on the part of those who make it. What are they afraid of? I can only conclude that they are afraid of the truth."

The fund head said that far from confining itself to studying such matters as the government's loyalty-security system, of which it has been critical, the fund is financing "the definitive study of what the Communist party has amounted to in this country and what it amounts to now."

Seoul Tells Of Plot to Slay Rhee Ring Smashed, 8 of Gang Held

SEOUL, Oct. 7 (AP).—The Korean Counter-Intelligence Corps smashed a plot to assassinate President Syngman Rhee on the day it was to be executed, the government announced today.

Eight members of the gang were arrested, the Office of Public Information said.

Counter-intelligence agents rounded up the eight before the gang could carry out a plan that allowed them two chances to get close enough to the President to kill him with hand grenades.

According to the government, the gang planned to assassinate Dr. Rhee with grenades on Monday during ceremonies at Seoul marking the 4,288th anniversary of the nation. The Presi-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/14/61 BY

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b7c

40-3745-742
ENCLOSURE

On Wednesday, Oct 5, 1955, Earl Browder came for dinner and it was a most interesting evening. He told us he was working for the Fund for the Republican which was the first real job he had had since he left the Party. He was greatly worried that the Internal Security Com. of the Senate would investigate the Fund and he would lose his job. He told us it was a very simple job--for him--because he was working with two or three men who were putting together a history of the Communist Party. All he had to do was to tell them what documents to look for and where to look for them. He said the history before 1945 was fairly simple, but from that time on it was a scrambled affair.

He said he had talked with a Russian, the night before, who had escaped from Russia during the revolution. He said this man was very learned and very intelligent, but still he did not understand the Communists. He said the man asked him if he had known Stalin. Browder told him he had never seen Stalin which most people would not believe. He said that after 1929, you could only see Stalin when Stalin asked for the interview and he never asked to see Browder. Browder said, as head of the USA Party, he could have asked to see Stalin, but he never did. However, he said he went to Moscow every year until the war started, to discuss the "line". He said that often he proposed a line which the leaders of Russia did not go along with, but that eventually, he won out. He said for two reasons: one that he understood the USA better than the Russians did, and second the Communist Party in the US was working so much to Russia's advantage, the Soviets did not want to disturb it.

I asked him if he had ever known about Hiss and White etc. He said Hiss was not even a name to him. He said he knew White, but knew nothing about the ~~man~~ cell, "if there ever was one".

We mentioned the Daily Worker, and he said he had not read it in years. He commented that it was no good any more, and maybe that was because there were so many FBI men working there. He added that when he was head of the Party, he knew there was an FBI man in his office, although he did not know which one. Some of his colleagues, he said, told him they were worried about it, but he told them not to worry because everything he did was in the open, and he worked in a godfish bowl.

He said there were so few people who understood the Communist Party. He said the people he worked with on the Fund did not seem to understand what he was talking about. But he said, at least, they were anxious to get "facts" and he was able to get the "facts" for them. He claimed his colleagues were interested in "history" which helped to make his job pleasant.

I asked him what he thought of the "Spirit of Geneva" and his reply was, ~~when~~ "If you like the taste of ersatz liquor, it's all right". However, he told us that the U.S. was playing their cards so badly that within 10 years Russia would have all of Africa, and all of Asia, to say nothing of Europe. He agreed that Russia was winning over Africa with nationalism and not communism.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12/14/01 BY [redacted]

110 3748-792

I asked him ^{what} candidate the Communist Party wanted for President. He said they did not know until Moscow told them. I asked if Stevenson would not suit them, and he said that Moscow always ~~distrusted~~ distrusted Liberals. I asked what kind of a candidate they wanted, and he said, "a man who can get elected four terms". We asked him about Knowland, and he said he thought ~~him~~ Knowland was a strong man. He said he would like to see Knowland elected. He said he may not agree with Knowland all the time, but at least he stuck by his convictions, ~~and I am not sure~~. After a while, he brought up the subject of Knowland again. ~~Then~~ I asked him what kind of a campaign he thought Knowland should have. He said the most important thing for Knowland was to have the Unions back of him. We asked if the Union leaders could dictate the vote of labor. He said "ONLY if the union men agreed with their leaders." I asked him specifically how Knowland could appeal ~~himself~~ to labor. He said first of all--they wanted peace. He said every family worries about their sons going to war. And he said the candidate must ~~promise~~ "promise" peace, but not tell the public how he was going about getting it. But he said it was important that the candidate knew ~~how~~ what he was going to do about it and set out to do it. He said ~~himself~~ Knowland must be forceful in foreign relations, and that he must not advocate "an understanding". Which I took to mean that having an "understanding with Russia would not work. He said Ike's popularity was obtained ~~because~~ because he promised two things and did both. "He promised to go to Korea if elected and he did; and he promised to end the war, and he did". "Never mind what he did in Korea, or that the armistice was broken by the Reds. The public don't know that or don't remember it".

He also said Knowland should appeal to the labor with "security". I said that I personally was very tired of having "peace" "security" and all the rest of these slogans jammed down my throat. He said he agreed, and that Knowland must have new slogans with the same meanings.

This brought him to say that ~~himself~~ at one time he was the smartest politician in the U.S. He said in 1940 he had picked up all the riffraff and bobtails and organized them--that he had full control of the AF of L and the CIO. He said that it was at his "dictation" that Roosevelt ran for the 3rd and 4th terms. He said that the Democrats couldn't make up their minds, and that by his campaign and pushing he had all the Democrat leaders coming to Washington hoping to be the first to advocate FDR running again.

We told him about Knowland's statement about segregation--that he was against segregation, but that he thought that it was states' rights affair. ~~Brodwer~~ Brodwer said that when he was a young socialist in 1917 he was against the war and brought a suit about it. He claimed that the Constitution specifically says that the levying of troops must be done by the states. But he said he was put in jail and that the court claimed that his bringing suit was a "conspiracy". So Brodwer said, states rights have already been taken away.

Brodwer ~~claimed~~ claimed that Russia did not want China in the UN. He said that the Red Chinese were on the up grade and Russia was afraid for them to get too strong. If they were admitted to the UN they then could have relations with ~~all other nations~~ all other nations which would make them more powerful than they are. He claimed that ~~the~~ the Soviets were doing everything to antagonize the US so that we would be firm against Red China admission. But he was in favor of the US recognizing Red China. He said it was the only way to keep Japan out of Russian domination. He also said he felt the time would come when China would take Outer Mongolia etc. from Russia.

Browder claimed that a strong foreign policy which said what it meant and and stuck to it--plus trade with Russia etc. would keep the peace. We disagreed over Chiang Kai-shek, but agreed that our vacillating policy toward him was disastrous

He also said Knowland should promise to do something about the ~~schools~~ schools. He said he ~~had~~ had moved to Yonkers 23 years ago so that his children could go to good schools, but ~~now~~ now, they are a disgrace and are ~~all~~ over the country. He said a laboring man worries when he sees the awful schools his children have to go to. He advocated that Federal funds should be used for the schools.

He made the astonishing statement that there were only about 5,000 Communists in the US. He said about 2000 in N.Y. and about 400 in Chicago. He said there were far less than when he was head of the party--no matter what Hoover said. He said this was because the Communists did not have an issue to "make Communists". He said he ~~made~~ "made Communists" by helping those in trouble. Helping evicted families, giving them food etc. I asked him what ~~about~~ about the intellectuals who weren't poor. He said that they became Communists because "it was fashionable".

He told us that he was under indictment because he had lied about his wife not being a member of the Communist Party. He said it was not a lie. That she was well thought of by the big shots in Moscow and worked for them, but she was not a member of the ~~the~~ party. He said he thought one of the reasons she married him was because he was one person not under Moscow discipline. He said ~~when~~ when they were married, she worked in his office, but still was not a member of the party.

~~He said two of his sons had served their~~ He said two of his sons had served their two years in the Army. That one of them was a PHD in mathematics, and he thought it was ridiculous that the Army had given him a gas station attendant job. He said he thought it was the parents who worried about the boys having to do a two-year stretch in the Army, but that he thought it was good for the boys. He said his boys came out tougher and better boys.

Browder said that "the art of conversation" seemed to be lost. He was afraid to argue with anyone because they always got mad, but he enjoyed talking with us because we could disagree and still discuss.

Browder said it took a lot to make a Communist--that they didn't become Communists by going to mmm secret cell meetings. I asked him if it was not true that they had to gmm learn Marx and Engels in classes. He did not quite answer this, but perhaps it was my fault. I asked if that was not what the Jefferson school was for. He said that of course, Jefferson school taught all sorts of other things as well as having classes on "arx and Engels. But it was just a sort of glamorous thing to do. He said in his days the school had as many as 5,000 students a year. Now it only has about 800 or less...that the shcool didn't amount to anything any more.

He also said that a U.S. policy should be to help "backward countries" become prosperous countries. He favored this over sending aid to ~~noncommunist~~ countries such as England, France, etc.

Browder said Russia ~~wouldn't~~ did not trust "liberals". but after Drumond's article in the Herald Trib Oct. 8, I am not so sure. Also, the New Times often quotes Stevenson and states that he is one of the few intelligent American statesmen.

10/12/55

MR. TOLSON:

I am attaching hereto a rather interesting memorandum furnished me by [redacted] On 10/5/55, Earl Browder came to Washington to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee on 10/6/55. He asked the [redacted] to have lunch with him. They instead invited him to dinner and the attached is the essence of the conversation that took place that evening.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/14/01 BY [redacted]

Enclosure
LBN:fc (2)

2-ENCL.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

RECORDED-37
INDEXED-37

NOV 3 1955

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	b7D
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

b6
b7C

40-3798-742
5-1116
FBI

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Tolson *V. P. 10*

DATE: 10/14/55

FROM :

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tele. Room
 Des. Room
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Tamm
 Mr. Sizoo
 Mr. Winterrowd
 Mr. Holloman
 Mr. Gandy

b6
 b7C

Victor Riesel stated that Joseph P. Lyford, who handles public relations for the Fund for the Republic, has been in touch with him and is obviously trying to influence him. He has offered to put Riesel on the mailing list, to give him advance information on anything that developed in the Fund for the Republic and to give him complete details on anything that he wants. Riesel thought that it might be worthwhile to see what they had to offer. I told Victor I could see no objection to this but that he, of course, should not compromise himself. Riesel stated that he was going to keep hammering away at the Fund for the Republic; that he is particularly exercised over Robert Sherwood who is expounding the virtues of Yugoslavia.

Victor further told me that Dan Bell, the Labor Editor of Fortune Magazine who is in charge of the project "Communism in the Labor Movement" of the Fund for the Republic, along with Theodore Draper, who is writing the History of the Communist Party in the U. S. for the Fund for the Republic, are both using Earl Browder. Browder gets his pay checks from the Fund for the Republic, however, Bell and Draper claim that Browder is working for them but technically, Bell admits to Riesel that Browder is on the payroll. Riesel stated that Al Levy, who works for him, has known Paul Jacobs, who has been working on the Survey of Communist Infiltration into Hollywood. Levy and Jacobs, many years ago, were engaged in fighting Communists in the labor movement. Riesel thinks highly of Jacobs. Jacobs is getting pretty much disgusted with the Fund for the Republic. He knows the inside activities of the Fund and Victor thinks that if someone could approach Jacobs that he is so disgusted that he might furnish considerable information. Riesel further stated that Lee Pressman recently propositioned him that he would give Riesel any information Riesel wanted in return for Riesel keeping his name out of the column.

• Riesel is going to start working on Pressman for information as to Browder's connection with the labor movement and the manner in which he dominated the labor movement with a view of utilizing this as he thinks that Bell will softpedal the Communist influence in the labor movement.

cc - Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc

(4)

NOV 8 1955

CRIME READER

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

10/14/55

Furthermore, Riesel has been irked at Browder for a long time and he is going to try to build a fire under Browder on the grounds that he could identify the individuals who corrupted the labor movement if he only would. Riesel stated that Pressman has been working on the waterfront, his daughter recently married into the Orbach family in New York and he thinks that Pressman's attitude has been improving. Riesel further stated that recently Joe Curran of the Longshoremen's Union was instrumental in having Hadley Stone ousted from the union in an ideological fight that had been taking place. Stone's ouster was effected by retiring him on a pension and giving him \$7500 a year. Stone was a key Communist figure in the CIO during the years that it was infiltrated. Stone is reported to be bitter against Curran and the Communists now and Riesel thinks that some attention might be given Stone as he might be in a frame of mind to talk. Stone lives at the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments in the Bronx. It is suggested that the Domestic Intelligence Division consider the foregoing information.

*NY for him
instructed to inform Stone
RB 10-7-55*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

FROM : L. B. Nichols ✓

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER

DATE: October 29, 1955

Tolson _____

Boardman _____

Nichols _____

Belmont _____

Harbo _____

Mohr _____

Parsons _____

Rosen _____

Tamm _____

Sizoo _____

Winterrowd _____

Tele. Room _____

Holloman _____

Gandy _____

Jay Sourwine informed me that arrangements have now been worked out with Tompkins whereby the Internal Security Subcommittee will call Browder in and offer / immunity. Just when they will do this is not known. Sourwine has been talking to John Rogge. Rogge wants Browder to take immunity and tell all. Before calling Browder, Rogge wants to set up some conferences with Browder. He will attend the first one and make clear his position, his advice, and recommendation. He will then leave the conferences and leave negotiations up to Sourwine and Browder. Rogge states that to accept immunity is the proper course of action for Browder to do. However, he, Rogge, is fearful that Browder might take an arbitrary position or follow a line which would involve him in perjury. Rogge has frankly told Sourwine that he is concerned over the correctness of Browder's statement that he knows of no espionage activities on the part of the Communist Party.

LBN:gjm

(4)

cc: Mr. Boardman

Mr. Belmont

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DATE 12/14/81 BY [redacted]

RECORDED 131

EX-121

12 NOV 9 1955

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NOV 14 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was
SM - C; PERJURY

DATE: 1/13/56

Rebulet 10/4/55, retaining subject in the Security Index.

A review of the subject's case file indicates that there has never been a summary report prepared. The NYO is of the opinion that in this particular instance no summary report should be prepared.

The period of the subject's CP activity extends from approximately 1930 to July 1949, at which time the Soviet Government dropped BROWDER from its payroll as an American publishing representative. BROWDER had been expelled from the CP on 2/13/46, by the National Committee of the CP acting on the recommendation of the National Board, CP, USA. Aside from exhibiting an uncooperative attitude at various Congressional hearings and during interview attempts by Bureau agents, there is no information indicating BROWDER to be active in the CP movement since 1949.

The NYO feels that the agent time required in the preparation of a summary report on this subject is not warranted and that agent personnel could be better utilized in conducting investigations on individuals currently involved in Communist activities.

The subject's file consists of 1343 serials encompassing 14 volumes. In addition, there are approximately 1500 references which would have to be reviewed. The bulk of this information, of course, is prior to 1950, which would necessitate extensive file review in the NYO and other field divisions in order to properly document the information in accordance with current Bureau standards as to source of information and necessity of concealing identities of sources.

The Bureau's attention is called to a monograph prepared at the SOG dated March 1953, entitled "The Communist Party, USA, versus EARL RUSSELL BROWDER and BROWDERISM." This monograph reflecting extensive research presents an excellent summary of BROWDER'S association with the Communist movement over the years.

In view of the foregoing, no summary report will be prepared by the NYO, UACB.

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - NY 100-25693

RM

JTH:MVC (2)

11 JAN 16 1956

744
SUBV. CONTROL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/13/99 BY 6070C

SAC, New York (100-25693)

January 30, 1956

Director, FBI (40-3798) - 779

RECORDED - 47

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

Reurlet dated January 13, 1956.

Relet advised that the New York Office is of the opinion that no summary report should be prepared concerning captioned subject. This opinion was based on a voluminous file concerning subject in the New York Office and the approximately 1500 references which would have to be reviewed in the preparation of a summary report. You also advised that the bulk of the information concerning Browder is prior to 1950 and would necessitate extensive file reviews in the New York Office and other field divisions in order to document properly the information to be utilized in accordance with current Bureau standards as to sources of information and the necessity of concealing the identity of these sources.

A review of the Bufile reflects that subject was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party from 1922 until 1945, was general secretary of the Communist Party from 1930 to 1944, was President of the Communist Political Association in 1944 and 1945 and was expelled from the Communist Party in February, 1946, for violation of Party discipline and his betrayal of the principles of Marxism and Leninism. During subject's long history of Communist Party activity, reliable informants advised he had knowledge of and assisted in espionage activities of the Communist Party, gave funds to the Party's illegal apparatus, visited Russia, refused to answer questions concerning Communist Party membership on ground of self-incrimination when testifying before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee in March, 1953, and unsuccessfully attempted to be reinstated in the Communist Party in 1948. Subject has been interviewed by Bureau Agents on numerous occasions and although friendly, refused to furnish information concerning his own activities or the activities of persons known to him. On September 16, 1952, subject was indicted on a perjury charge arising from false statements made by him under oath regarding his wife's naturalization petition. He has not yet been brought to trial on this charge.

WMM:ph
(4)

62 FEB 2 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/13/99 BY

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ANNEX

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Letter to SAC, New York

In view of subject's long history of leadership in the Communist Party and his refusal to answer questions before a Senate Committee in 1953, he was retained in the Security Index. Also, inasmuch as subject has had knowledge of and assisted in espionage activities of the Communist Party in the past, his Security Index card was tabbed Detcom. Subject's Bufile further reflects that subject appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (Eastland Committee) on October 6, 1955, in Executive Session. During this appearance Browder was questioned concerning his past Communist activities and numerous Party activities both in this country and abroad and in all of these instances he declined to answer and took refuge behind the Fifth Amendment.

In view of the above, the Bureau is of the opinion that a summary report concerning Browder is warranted. However, you may wish to defer preparation of your summary on Browder until you have completed the Summary Report Program presently underway in your office.

E. I. R. -10

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: April 5, 1956

FROM : Mr. J. A. Sizoo

cc - Mr. Belmont
Mr. Baumgardner
Mr. ReddySUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

ASAC Don Moore of the New York Office called today concerning Browder. He advised that AUSA Gilchrist informed him that he and other attorneys who are preparing the Trachtenberg case for trial are giving consideration to the possibility of conducting an interview with Browder to determine if he can furnish any information which might be helpful for trial purposes. Gilchrist said that he planned to talk to Tom Hall of the Internal Security Division of the Department concerning the desirability of interviewing Browder for the reasons stated. He asked New York if Browder had been interviewed by the Bureau and what his feelings were toward an interview by Government personnel.

Moore said he has checked the files and has the dates when Browder was last interviewed; that Browder would talk to a certain extent about his nonsecurity activities but furnished no information of value concerning his possible involvement in espionage or Communist Party activities. Moore will advise Gilchrist that we have interviewed Browder but that he would not cooperate to the extent of furnishing any pertinent information. Moore was told to also advise Gilchrist that whenever Browder is ready to talk about his general activities of a security nature he should talk to the FBI; however, insofar as his furnishing information in the Trachtenberg case or being used as a witness in this particular case, that is a matter for the Department to decide. Moore was also advised that if a request was received from Departmental attorneys for Bureau to participate with them in an interview with Browder concerning the Trachtenberg case, such an invitation should be diplomatically declined.

Moore advised that apparently the Departmental attorneys got the idea for an interview with Browder from Josephine Truslowe Adams who is scheduled to appear as a witness in the Trachtenberg case and whom they recently interviewed in preparing her for trial. In this connection, it will be recalled that Josephine Adams was instrumental in our contact with Browder claiming that Browder was ready to furnish helpful information to the Bureau.

ACTION:

This is for information.

JAS:mn:jdd
(4)

RECORDED - 84

APR 11 1956

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 DATE 12/14/01 BY

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Earl Browder
Internal Security - C
Perjury

DATE: April 20 1956

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

As a result of the illness and death of Paul Crouch and the illness of Louis Budenz last summer and his subsequent reluctance to testify further in court, it has been necessary to postpone a decision as to our course of action in the case against Earl Browder, based upon his denial that his now deceased wife was ever a member of the Communist Party of the United States. As you will recall, this denial was made at a hearing on Mrs. Browder's application for naturalization. The hearing was held in October 1949 and an indictment against Browder and his wife was returned in September 1952.

Mrs. Sylvia Crouch is a possible key witness. Consequently, I request that the Bureau undertake to locate Mrs. Crouch and interview her concerning her availability as a witness and her knowledge of Mrs. Raissa Browder's membership in the CP, USA. It would be appreciated if this interview could be conducted as soon as possible and the results be made available to the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York as well as to this Division.

181
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-1-00 BY [redacted]

RECORDED - 52

EX-109

APR 23 1956

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cc Browder

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 30 1956

TELETYPE

FBI CHARLOTTE

4-30-56

6-37 PM

DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW YORK

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, INTERNAL SECURITY DASH C, PERJURY.

RE BU AIRTEL DATED APRIL TWENTY FIVE, MRS.

HAZEL SEBASTIAN, POSTMASTER, HAYS, N. C., ADVISED APRIL

THIRTY, MRS SYLVIA CROUCH HAS LEFT HAYS, N. C.,

WITH FORWARDING ADDRESS OF BOX ONE FOUR THREE, AUDUBON

STATION, NEW YORK, THIRTY TWO, NEW YORK. NEW YORK WILL

INTERVIEW AS SET OUT IN REFERENCED AIRTEL. RUC.

ABBATICCHIO

END AND ACK PLS

WA 7-41 PM OK FBI WA EW

NY OK FBI NY FJM

TU DISC

55 MAY 9 1956

RECORDED-75

23 MAY 3 1956

Mr. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/15/99 BY [REDACTED]

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mason _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

GIR. 8

HDW

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5-2

April 25, 1956

AIRTEL

SAC, Charlotte

RECORDED - 52

①
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, INTERNAL SECURITY - C, PERJURY.

EX-109

Enclosed is copy Department letter April 20, 1956. Locate and interview Sylvia Crouch. Last known address as of January 13, 1956, was Route 1, Hays, North Carolina. Paul Crouch used extensively by Government as witness in security trials. Prior to death was considered controversial figure with civil suits filed by him against several newspapermen who accused him of false testimony. Sylvia Crouch's attitude, therefore, toward Government and testifying not known. Discretion during interview imperative to avoid possible subsequent embarrassment. Ascertain Sylvia Crouch's firsthand knowledge of Communist Party membership of Mrs. Raissa Browder, with aliases, Mrs. Irene Browder, Mrs. Earl Browder, and exact period of membership as known. Browder testified at hearing in 1949 that wife had never been member CP, USA. If agreeable, reduce pertinent information to signed statement. Mrs. Browder now deceased. Handle immediately upon receipt this airtel. If Sylvia Crouch not in your territory, set out lead by teletype. Keep Bureau advised. New York origin. New York keep Bureau advised of all developments of case and prosecutive activity in Southern District, New York.

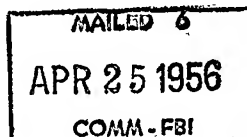
HOOVER

Enclosure

2cc - New York (100-25693) (W/Enclosure)

Bufile 40-3798

YELLOW: Department considers Sylvia Crouch key witness in prosecution Earl Browder since Paul Crouch dead and Budenz reluctant to testify. Indictment returned in New York City, September, 1952.

JJB:bew:plc
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/15/99 BY [redacted]

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Boardman _____
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Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

30 MAY 3 1956
FBI

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 2 - 1956

TELETYPE

WASH 11 FROM NEW YORK
DIRECTOR URGENT

02

5-57 PM

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, SM-C, PERJURY. BUFILE FORTY DASH THREE SEVEN
NINE EIGHT. RE CHARLOTTE TEL APR. THIRTY, FIFTYSIX. SYLVIA CROUCH
RESIDING APARTMENT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NYC, WITH DAUGHTER, [REDACTED] INFO WAS RECEIVED MAY
TWO FROM INS, NYC, THAT CROUCH WAS CONTACTED APR. THIRTY AND MAY ONE,
FIFTYSIX, BY THAT OFFICE. ACCORDING TO INS, CROUCH STILL VERY UPSET
OVER HUSBAND-S DEATH AND NOT INTERESTED IN TESTIFYING AT ANY PUBLIC
PROCEEDING. CROUCH REPORTEDLY MADE REMARK AFTER HUSBAND-S DEATH
THAT SHE DID NOT WANT TO HAVE ANY MORE TO DO WITH ANY GOVERNMENT
AGENCY. INS ANTICIPATES EMPLOYING CROUCH APPROXIMATELY ONE DAY
A WEEK FOR NEXT FOUR OR FIVE WEEKS AND IS OF THE OPINION THAT
EVENTUALLY SHE WILL BECOME MORE AMENABLE TO TESTIFYING AS TIMES GOES
ON. INS FEELS CROUCH WILL ACCUSE INS OF DIVULGING HER WHEREABOUTS
TO FBI, HOWEVER, SHE WAS LOCATED THROUGH POST OFFICE BOX. (INS HAS
NO OBJECTIONS TO FBI INTERVIEWING.) IN VIEW OF CROUCH-S STATEMENTS
TO INS AND IN VIEW OF FACT INS IS CONTACTING HER, THE BUREAU IS
REQUESTED TO ADVISE WHETHER NEW YORK SHOULD CONDUCT THE INTERVIEW.

KELLY

Mr. Belmont

RECORDED - 17

20 MAY 8 1956

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Bagley 0-

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION. Best Copy Available 3, 1956

Transmit the following message: SAC, NEW YORK Airtel

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, SM-C, PERJURY.

Reurtel 5-2-56.

Interview Sylvia Crouch immediately concerning her firsthand knowledge of Communist Party membership of Mrs. Elissa Browder, with aliases, Mrs. Irene Browder, Mrs. Earl Browder, in accordance with request in Department letter 4-20-56. Use all discretion and tact necessary to secure cooperation and avoid possible subsequent embarrassment. Explain to Mrs. Crouch her being located through forwarding address at Hays, North Carolina. If possible include pertinent information in signed statement. Furnish results to Bureau without delay.

HOOVER

Bufile 40-3798

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Earl Browder indicted NYC 1952. Department considers Sylvia Crouch key witness and requested FBI interview her. Crouch being contacted by INS for consultant purposes. INS reported to NY Office Crouch still upset over death of husband and not interested in testifying; however, Department specifically asked Bureau to ascertain attitude and knowledge. NY previously furnished copy of Department letter.

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

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DATE 4/15/99 BY #

COMM - FBI
MAY 3 1956
MAILED 20

JJB:gmh

55 MAY 11 1956

58 MAY 15 1956

SENT VIA

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F B I

Date: 5/9/56

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, NEW YORK (100-25093)

To: ~~DIRECTOR~~, FBI (40-3798)EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was
SM-C; PERJURY

ReWFOtel, 5/8/56.

AUSA THOMAS BOLAN, SDNY, advised 5/9/56, that a question and answer type statement from SYLVIA CROUCH was in the possession of the USA, SDNY. He stated that he believed that this is the statement referred to by Mrs. CROUCH as having been given by her in 1952.

AUSA BOLAN also advised that O. JOHN ROGGE, BROWDER's attorney, requested USDC, SDNY, on 5/8/56, to grant EARL BROWDER permission to leave the jurisdiction of the court to visit two sisters in Arizona for two or three weeks in June of this year. AUSA BOLAN stated he would not oppose the request.

For information.

KELLY

3 - BUREAU (40-3798)(RM)
1 - WFO (INFO)(RM)
1 - NY (100-25693)

JEH:mfd (#20-9)
(6)

RECORDED - 73

11 MAY 10 1956

Mr. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/15/99 BY [redacted]

SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: [signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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F B I

Date: 5/5/56

Transmit the following message via Air-tel
Registered

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
 SM-C, PERJURY

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Rebuairtel, 5/3/56.

SYLVIA CROUCH interviewed, 5/4/56, by SAS JAMES E. HANLON and THOMAS J. CROKE. Mrs. CROUCH advised that she knew IRENE BROWDER to have been a CP member from approximately 1934 to 1936 or 1937 since she had attended closed CP Women's Commission meetings at which Mrs. BROWDER spoke on three or four occasions during that time. She believed Mrs. BROWDER to be head of the Women's Commission since she spoke at these meetings. Mrs. CROUCH assumed that IRENE BROWDER was still a CP member up to 1942, the approximate time of Mrs. CROUCH's termination of CP membership.

Mrs. CROUCH also stated that she had attended other open CP meetings at which Mrs. BROWDER was in attendance during the 1934-1937 period. Mrs. CROUCH stated that she had furnished all the information in her possession concerning the BROWDERS in the Fall of 1952 or early 1953 in Washington, DC, in a signed statement to either the FBI or INS. She could not recall to which agency she had actually given this information, but stated that she did not desire to go through it again.

According to Mrs. CROUCH, she told the individuals who interviewed her at that time that she would not testify at the trial and added that she is even more set against testifying now. She stated that she had a nervous condition then and that the condition still exists. Mrs. CROUCH stated that she is very bitter against the Department of Justice and feels that her deceased husband received a "raw deal" from certain members of the Justice Department when no one

- 3 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-25693)

JEH:AJW (#20-9)
 (6)

Mr. Belmont

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

16 MAY 7 1956

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 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 4/15/99 BY #

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC,

- 2 -

To:

came forward to defend him or help him in any way when he was in difficulty prior to his death. She stated that her husband died a very unhappy and broken man as the result of the treatment he had received from the Justice Department.

Mrs. CROUCH stated that her husband had always said, and she had agreed with him, that the FBI had treated him fairly and that he had continued to cooperate with the FBI until his death. Mrs. CROUCH became very nervous and agitated when speaking of her husband and appeared to be near the breaking point throughout the interview. She stated on two occasions during the interview that she would not testify in any trial under any circumstances as she would not be able to stand the strain. Mrs. CROUCH was courteous throughout the interview, and stated that she had a high regard for the FBI but was adamant in her refusal to testify at any trial.

It is the opinion of the interviewing agents that Mrs. CROUCH would not make a good witness and would not stand up under vigorous cross-examination.

WFO will check their files for any signed statement given by Mrs. CROUCH. If not located in WFO files, check INS and advise Bureau and NY immediately for location.

KELLY

cc: MR. BELMONT
~~AND SUBV. DIV.~~
DOM. INTEL. DIVISION

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc-Bagley
Rotz

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

May 14, 1956

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

750

Reference is made to your memorandum
dated April 20, 1956.

Mrs. Sylvia Crouch was located in New York
City and interviewed at her residence, Apartment 53,
710 West 173rd Street, on May 4, 1956.

She said that she knew Irene Browder
to have been a Communist Party member from approximately
1934 to 1936 or 1937 since she had attended closed
Communist Party Women's Commission meetings at which
Mrs. Browder spoke on three or four occasions during
that time. She believed Mrs. Browder to have been
the head of the Women's Commission since she spoke
at these meetings. Mrs. Crouch assumed that
Mrs. Browder was still a Communist Party member up
to 1942, the approximate time of Mrs. Crouch's
termination of her Communist Party membership.
Mrs. Crouch said she attended other open Communist
Party meetings at which Mrs. Browder was in
attendance during the 1934-1937 period.

Mrs. Crouch said she had furnished all
information in her possession concerning the Browders
in the Fall of 1952 or early 1953 in Washington, D. C.,
in a signed statement to either the FBI or the
Immigration and Naturalization Service. She could not
recall exactly which agency but said she did not
desire to give a signed statement again. She said she
told the individuals who interviewed her at that time
that she would not testify at the trial and added that
she is even more determined now not to testify.

40-3798

2 cc - New York (100-25693) See note page 2

Note on yellow - page 2

JJB:ph
(7)

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4/15/99

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Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
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Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Best Copy Available

Letter to Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

She said she had a nervous condition then and it still exists. She added that she is very bitter towards the Department of Justice because in her opinion certain members of the Department did not come forward to defend or help her husband in his difficulties prior to his death.

During the course of the interview of May 4, 1956, she twice stated that she would not testify in any trial under any circumstances since she would not be able to stand the strain.

Assistant United States Attorney Thomas Dolan, Southern District of New York, advised on May 9, 1956, that a question-and answer-type statement from Sylvia Crouch regarding the Browders is in the possession of the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York. He said that he believed this is the statement referred to by Mrs. Crouch as having been given by her in 1952.

Mr. Dolan added that Browder's attorney, O. John Rogge, requested the Court on May 8, 1956, to grant Earl Browder permission to leave the jurisdiction of the Court to visit two sisters in Arizona for two or three weeks in June of this year. Mr. Dolan said he would not oppose this request.

A report is being prepared, one copy of which will be furnished to you as well as to the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York in accordance with your request.

Note SAC, New York:

Secure copies of Sylvia Crouch's signed statement. Include in report together with pertinent details of 5-4-56 interview. Report should include "Appendix-Witness" section in accordance with SAC Letter 55-51, paragraph Q.

Note on yellow: Earl Browder indicted NYC 1952. Department considers Sylvia Crouch key witness and requested FBI interview her for her knowledge of CP membership of Mrs. Browder and her willingness to testify. Department requested information be furnished to Department and USA SDNY.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
-2-

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 7 - 1956

TELETYPE

WASH AND WASH FLD 1 FROM NEW YORK
DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

AM

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WAS, SM - C. PERJURY. RENYAIRTEL, MAY FIVE, FIFTY SIX. BY TEL OCT. TWENTY, FIFTY TWO, NY ADVISED BUREAU AND WFO THAT AUSA ROBERT MARTIN, SDNY, WISHED TO INTERVIEW MRS. PAUL CROUCH IN OFFICE OF SAAG ROY M. COHN, ROOM TWO TWO ONE SIX, JUSTICE BUILDING, WASH., D.C. ON OCT. TWENTYTWO, FIFTY TWO. WFO WAS REQUESTED TO DETERMINE AVAILABILITY OF MRS. CROUCH AND ARRANGE FOR THE INTERVIEW. BY TEL OCT. TWENTY ONE, FIFTY TWO, WFO ADVISED MRS. PAUL CROUCH WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW AT ROOM TWO TWO ONE SIX, JUSTICE BUILDING WASHINGTON, D.C. ON OCT. TWENTYTHREE, FIFTYTWO. THIS MAY BE TIME AND PLACE MRS. CROUCH GAVE SIGNED STATEMENT RE THE BROWDERS WHICH SHE THOUGHT SHE GAVE TO EITHER FBI OR INS IN WASH., D.C. IN FALL OF FIFTY TWO OR EARLY FIFTY THREE. FOR YOUR INFO.

RECORDED - 121

20 MAY 16 1956

KELLY

END

NY R 1 WA PC TWO COPIES WFO

Mr. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/15/99 BY #

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58 MAY 21 1956

GIR

5/8/56

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mason	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK

4:30 PM

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-600)

URGENT

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WAS IS DASH C. PERJURY. RENYLET AND TELETYPE
 DTD MAY FIVE AND SEVEN, INSTANT, REQUESTING WFO TO ATTEMPT TO LOCATE
 A SIGNED STATEMENT GIVEN BY MRS. PAUL CROUCH, TO FBI OR INS AT WDC, IN FALL
 OF FIFTYTWO OR EARLY FIFTYTHREE. REVIEW OF WFO FILES REFLECT THAT WFO
 PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS ARRANGED AN APPOINTMENT FOR MRS. CROUCH TO BE
 INTERVIEWED ON OCT. TWENTYTHREE, NINETEEN FIFTYTWO, AT ROOM TWO TWO ONE SIX,
 JUSTICE BLDG., WDC, AND SO ADVISED THE BU BY TELETYPE DTD OCT. TWENTY,
 NINETEEN FIFTYTWO. WFO FILES CONTAIN NO REFERENCE TO THE ACTUAL INTERVIEW,
 WHICH WAS SCHEDULED TO BE CONDUCTED BY AUSA ROBERT MARTIN, SDNY, IN THE
 OFFICE OF S.A.A.G. ROY COHN, AND NO SIGNED STATEMENT BY MRS. CROUCH COULD
 BE LOCATED IN THE FILES OF WFO. IT IS NOTED THAT BU SUPERVISOR CRAWFORD F.
 WILLIAMS WAS HANDLING MRS. CROUCH DURING THE PERIOD IN QUESTION. ON MAY
 EIGHT INSTANT, SE LEO M. MURPHY MADE INQUIRY AT INS, WDC, CONCERNING THE
 STATEMENT IN QUESTION, AND WAS ADVISED BY MR. EDWARD MORGAN, INVESTIGATIONS
 DIVISION, INS, THAT IF SUCH A STATEMENT WERE IN POSSESSION OF INS, IT WOULD

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Teletype Unit
- 1 - WFO

(5)
 RET:slm DATE 4/15/99 BY

RECORDED 121

20 MAY 16 1956

Mr. Belmont

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 MAY 21 1956
 C. Island

21 May 1956
 21 May 1956
 21 May 1956

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC NEW YORK

5/8/56

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-6003)

URGENT

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

BE IN THE INS FILE OF EARL BROWDER, INS FILE NUMBER A ONE ZERO ZERO SEVEN SEVEN THREE EIGHT SEVEN, WHICH FILE HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO THE INS NY OFFICE. THE NY OFFICE IS REQUESTED TO CONTACT INS OFFICE NY AND DETERMINE IF STATEMENT IN QUESTION IN THEIR FILE A ONE ZERO ZERO SEVEN SEVEN THREE EIGHT SEVEN. IN ADDITION, CHECK BROWDER FILE AT USA, SDNY FOR ANY STATEMENT POSSIBLY TAKEN FROM SYLVIA CROUCH BY ROBERT MARTIN ABOUT OCT. FIFTYTWO. RUC.

LAUGHLIN

SAC, New York (100-25693)

June 5, 1956

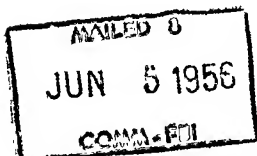
Director, FBI (40-3798)

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

ReBulet May 14, 1956, to Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins, copies of which were sent to your office.

It is desired that you submit the report requested in relet. If this report has already been submitted, advise date. If report not sent and cannot reach Bureau within one week of date of this letter, advise Bureau of reason and advise date report will be sent.

JJB:ph
(4)



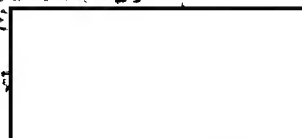
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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Nichols _____
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Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
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Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 6/11/56	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/1, 2, 4, 18, 21, 25; 6/1, 4/56
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was		REPORT MADE BY JAMES E. HANLON	TYPED BY mlb
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C PERJURY	

SYNOPSIS:

T-1 stated on 5/25/56, subject resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and appears to have no regular employment. SYLVIA CROUCH advised on 5/4/56, that she knew IRENE BROWDER, subject's wife, to have been a CP member from approximately 1934-1936 or 1937. Signed statement by SYLVIA CROUCH, 10/23/52, obtained from AUSA THOMAS A. BOLAN, SDNY, set out.

AGENCY AAG Tompkins
 REC'D REC'D
 DATE FORW. 5/25/56
 HOW FORW. by mail
 BY JJB/rh

-P-

DETAILS:

T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 5/25/56, that the subject resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and appears to have no regular employment.

APPROVED <u>J. J. K.</u> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 5 - Bureau (100-3798)(RM) 1 - INS, New York (RM) 1 - USA, SDNY (RM) 3 - New York (100-25693)	11-11-754	RECORDED - 44 INDEXED - 44
DECLASSIFIED BY <u>[redacted]</u> ON <u>4/15/99</u>	13 JUN 12 1956	EX-122 b6 b7C

COPIES DESTROYED

842 OCT 5 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

"The New York Times" for May 20, 1956, page 40, in an article entitled, "Browder, 65, says he is unchanged" sets out information to the effect that BROWDER supports himself by occasional college lectures and by working as a researcher for historians preparing a history of the Communist Party and a study of its influence.

On May 4, 1956, SYLVIA CROUCH, Apartment 53, 710 West 173rd Street, New York City, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party, was interviewed by SAS JAMES E. HANLON and THOMAS J. CROKE concerning her knowledge of Mrs. EARL BROWDER's Communist Party membership.

Mrs. CROUCH advised that she knew IRENE BROWDER to have been a Communist Party member from approximately 1934 to 1936 or 1937, since she had attended closed Communist Party Women's Commission Meetings, at which Mrs. BROWDER spoke on three or four occasions during that time. She believed that Mrs. BROWDER was the head of the Women's Commission since she spoke at these meetings.

Mrs. CROUCH assumed that Mrs. BROWDER was still a Communist Party member up until 1942, the approximate time of Mrs. CROUCH's termination of Communist Party membership. Mrs. CROUCH also stated that she had attended other open Communist Party meetings at which Mrs. BROWDER was in attendance during the 1934-1937 period.

On May 21, 1956, Assistant United States Attorney THOMAS A. BOLAN, Southern District of New York, furnished a Photostat of a signed statement from SYLVIA CROUCH dated October 23, 1952. The signed statement reads as follows:

"I was active in the Communist Party from 1929 until December 1941, and I may have attended a few meetings in early 1942. I was a District Organizer for the Young Communist's League from 1933 to 1937. I was Section Organizer in Norfolk from 1932 until April 1933. I was State Organizer in Utah in 1933. I was organizer for the District of North and South

NY 100-25693

Carolina from June 1934 until near the end of 1937. During this period, I was also a member of the District Committee of the Communist Party. In 1938 I was circulation manager of the New South and a member of the District Committee in Birmingham, Alabama. In 1939 I was in Tennessee as a member of the District Committee. In 1941 I went to California. There I was not a member of the District Committee but I was head of the National Group Commission for Alameda County.

"During the years 1934 to 1937 I attended numerous meetings of the Communist Party in New York. I attended the Young Communist League convention or plenum in 1934 or 1935 and the Young Communist League convention in 1936. In addition, I attended 2 or 3 national plenums of the Communist Party. At national plenums only top functionaries of the party were present. The rules of the party only permitted functionaries to be present. Mrs. Browder was at all the plenums I attended. She spoke at one plenum and sat on the dias. Earl Browder was present at all plenums. This was during the period 1934 to 1937.

"I attended numerous national committee meetings during the period 1934 to 1937. At a National Committee Meeting the members of the national committee were present and other functionaries were called in to discuss problems or to receive instructions. The rules do not permit a person who was not a party member to be present. Earl Browder was present at almost all of these meetings as was Mrs. Browder. Mrs. Browder spoke on numerous occasions at these meetings but I cannot recall the exact subjects as they were numerous. At National Committee Meetings there would be up to 50 people present.

"I also saw Mrs. Browder at numerous Bureau meetings of the party. The Bureau consisted of the top functionaries who ran the party when the National Committee was not in session. Mrs. Browder was present at most Bureau meetings which I attended. Earl Browder was present at almost all of them. I was called

NY 100-25693

in to discuss problems of what I should do as a District functionary. Other functionaries might also be present. There was a combination of discussion and instructions as to how to execute the party line in different fields of work. Mrs. Browder would participate in both the discussions and in giving instructions. I recall one occasion when Mrs. Browder spoke on how to organize the negroes into the Communist Party which was a problem in my district. Earl Browder was present at that time.

"I also attended numerous meetings of the various Commissions of the party, the Women's, Nationality, Trade Union, and Negro Commissions. Mrs. Browder was present at many of these commission meetings except Trade Union Commission. No one was ever present at a commission meeting who was not a functionary of the party because the rules of the party do not permit it. I would be notified by another party functionary that I was to attend a commission meeting. At several Women's Commission meetings I can recall that Mrs. Browder presided. This was in the period from 1934 to 1937. Mrs. Browder spoke on how women should do more work in the party on several occasions.

"I also saw Mrs. Browder on numerous occasions in the offices of the Communist Party on 14th Street where she appeared to be working.

"My recollection of exact dates or subject matter discussed at any meeting is vague because I attended so many meetings. At almost every meeting that I attended Mrs. Browder was present and the meetings were restricted to functionaries of the party. Mr. and Mrs. Browder were present at all of the more important meetings.

"Sylvia Crouch
"October 23, 1952"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

APPENDIX -- WITNESS

SYLVIA CROUCH

SYLVIA CROUCH is a White female born August 18, 1907, Sevier County, Tennessee. She resides at Apartment 53, 710 West 173rd Street, New York City. N.Y.

The records of the County Clerk's Office, County of New York, New York, reflect that SYLVIA CROUCH appeared as a witness for the State of New York in the matter of "The Application of the People of the State of New York, by ALFRED J. BOHLINGER, Superintendent of Insurance, State of New York, for an order directing him to take possession of the property and to liquidate the business, and dissolving the corporate existence of the International Workers Order, Incorporated."

The records show that Mrs. CROUCH, also known as Mrs. FRED ALIEN, Mrs. CARL WILSON, and SYLVIA LANGDON gave testimony between the dates January 29, 1951 and March 7, 1951, at which time she testified that she had been a member of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party in Virginia from 1932-1933; Chairman of the National Group Commission, Alameda County, California, 1941; a student in the Communist Party Underground School in California 1941; a member of the Communist Party 1929--1942; a member of the Young Communist League, 1929--1937; a member of the International Workers Order, 1932--1933, and 1941--1942; and held various other offices in the Communist Party. The records show that Mrs. CROUCH was a very cooperative witness for the State during the above proceedings.

On May 4, 1956, Mrs. CROUCH advised that she would not testify in any ^{trial} under any circumstances as she had a nervous condition, and would not be able to stand the strain.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

INFORMANTS

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity or Description of Source</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to Whom Furnished</u>	<u>File Number where Located</u>
T-1 <div data-bbox="196 670 451 887" style="border: 1px solid black; width: 163px; height: 106px;"></div>	Residence and employment	5/25/56	SA DANIEL H. LUCKING	<div data-bbox="1246 656 1442 711" style="border: 1px solid black; width: 125px; height: 27px;"></div> memo 5/25/56

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Careful consideration has been given to the source concealed and a T symbol was utilized in the report only in the instance where the identity of the source must be concealed.

ADMINISTRATIVE

The subject is currently on the Security Index in the NYO, and the data appearing on the SI card is current and correct.

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will prepare summary report.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, 6/27/55, New York.
Bureau letter to Assistant Attorney General
WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS, 5/14/56.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Rotz
Bagley

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

Best Copy Available

June 14, 1956

754
RECEIVED - 44 Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

o. t. n. y. ②
status re
prosecution
JJB
see nyl 9/19/56
JJB

Reference is made to my memorandum dated
May 14, 1956.

There is enclosed one copy of the report
of Special Agent James E. Hanlon dated June 11, 1956,
at New York. One copy of this report has been furnished
to the United States Attorney for the Southern District
of New York in accordance with your previous request.

Enclosure

40-3798

Note on yellow:

Department considering prosecution of Browder
for perjury. Requested interview of Sylvia Crouch.

JJB:ph
(5)

#406077-001
DECLASSIFIED BY
ON 12-14-01

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COMM - FBI
JUN 14 1956

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POST-HALL *Syndicate*

342 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

VICTOR RIESEL

MUrray Hill 2-5560

July 19, 1956

Dear Lou:

Here is the Browder broadcast.

Love and kisses,

b6
b7C

NOT RECORDED
140 AUG 6 1956

RECORDED-20

EX 1.5

62-82195-410

14 JUL 26 1956

ENCLOSURE

+ ENCLOSURE
20

53 AUG 7 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Earl Browder, speaking over the British Broadcasting ~~C~~ on July 9th at 3:00 answered the following three questions:

Q: What was the effect of the Khrushchev speech on the American Communist Party? How do you explain the fact that Eugene Dennis' article was reprinted in Pravda?

A: Undoubtedly the Khrushchev speech was a big shock to American Communists because chiefly it meant the certain unprepared repudiation of old established attitudes and policies. What happened among American Communists is, however, not important in the way that developments in the Italian Communist Party are. The American Communist Party has become a rootless section. The Dennis article suspended judgment and only asked questions. Perhaps for this reason it was chosen by Pravda to be published. Perhaps it was a handy substitute for publishing the Togliatti article, which was distinctly displeasing to the Russians.

Q: When you were secretary of the American Communist Party and used to visit Moscow during the war, did you feel that anything was wrong then?

A: Yes, I did, although it was difficult to put one's finger on what was wrong. The over-riding menace of Hitler Germany served to prevent most persons, including myself, from digging deeply in what was going on in Russia. But thousands of foreign Communists were, in the 1930's, deeply disturbed ^{by} the disappearance from time to time of their old friends among the Russian trade union leaders. Most particularly they were disturbed by the fact that inquiries brought no information but only the bland answer "never heard of them." When even the records of men disappeared, the most blindly loyal followers knew that something was fundamentally wrong.

b6
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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE 62-82195-410

FBI

DATE: 7/24/56

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK

SASE
ESPIONAGE - R

Earl Browder

Re New York airtel, 7/17/56.

It should be noted that in the dissemination of the information contained herein care must be exercised lest the identity of [redacted] a very valuable source, be revealed. It should be further noted that the information, by its nature, tends to identify the informant to whom it was disclosed on a highly confidential basis.

39 - Bureau [redacted] (RM)

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Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
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2-12

Out of the

Past: Earl

Feb 4 / 1956

Browder

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. *Post*

DATED *7/8/56*

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

b6
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RE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C

BUFILE 40-3798

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254 *40-3778 A*
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63 SEP 18 1956

[signature]

BY JIM COOK

Article V

The little gray-haired man sat slouched in an easy chair, puffing his pipe and tamping it now and then to get his tobacco coal even.

It was the middle of last week's hottest afternoon, but the sitting room of his third-floor apartment in Yonkers was cool and comfortably dim. Except for the dozens of shelves of books, it was the kind of relaxing place that might be favored by a retired shoe clerk or a pensioned-off railroad telegrapher.

And the little man looked the part. He was wearing a slightly rumpled short-sleeved white shirt and a pair of well-broken-in loafers. His blue eyes had that calmness which comes when a man's work is done and he has seen more things than he planned to see.

"What am I doing these days? Well, I'm playing quite a bit of chess," he said, "and I do some writing when I feel like it."

"And then I often listen to the radio—not television, that barbaric instrument of torture," he added with an old-fashioned but good-natured grump. "I do a lot of talking, like we're doing here now—that's my biggest vice. Mostly, I'm becoming very lazy."

For the listener, it was hard to keep in mind that this slight, mild-looking old fellow had been the official leader and chief spokesman of the Communist Party in America during its 14 most powerful years.

This was Earl Browder, bogey man to a generation of non-Communists and then a bogey man to the Communists themselves.

* * *

BUT ALL THAT WAS IN A TIME OF THE PAST.

"No, I don't call myself a 'Communist' any more," he said. "I can't even call myself a 'Marxist.' I don't think the writings of Karl Marx have the solutions to the problems of the world today."

"Marx would be the last one today to call himself a 'Marxist.' Yet if you ask me if I repudiate my origins as a Marxist, I would say 'No.'"

Since Khrushchev earlier this year announced the new Soviet line favoring "a peaceful transition to socialism" in non-Communist countries—and since the American Communists began parroting the line there has been some speculation that Browder might try to return to the Red fold.

"It's true that in 1944 and 1945 I was advocating the attitude toward international relations which was adopted at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (this year)," said Browder. "Now it comes 12 years too late."

Browder, now 65, classified the present American Communist Party as a "contemptible cult" of "weaklings."

"Now (among the active U. S. Communists) there is an orientation on the Soviet Union exclusively as a center of power. It was the center of thinking in my day. Those who have an incurable habit of thinking have been driven away from the party."

Does he consider it possible that he ever will take another active role on the American political scene?

"Realistically," the slight, gray-haired man admitted "there are no grounds on which anyone could base such a prediction."

* * *

FEW MEN IN AMERICA HAVE, BY THEIR OWN choice, steered their lives along such a stormy route as has Earl Browder.

Born in Wichita, Kan., in a large family of old American stock, Browder followed his father into the Socialist Party when he was 15. Finding it a little mild for his taste, he soon joined a branch of the Syndicalist League led by William Z. Foster.

For opposing the draft in World War I, Browder served a year in jail and two years in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

Out of prison in 1920, he joined the Communist Party and operated in the party underground for years.

From 1926 to 1929 he was in Communist activity in China. Returning to the U. S., he took Foster's side in his party dispute with Jay Lovestone (whose "moderate" position was similar in many respects to the one later voiced by Browder).

The Foster camp got the nod from Moscow and in 1930, because of Foster's ill health, Browder replaced him as executive secretary of the party in the U. S.

Browder kept the top title in the Party until the end of World War II, faithfully following the various "lines" that were decided upon in Moscow. But, either accidentally or on purpose, Browder missed the signals from the Kremlin in 1945 when Russia shifted to its "get-tough" policy—and he was kicked unceremoniously out of the Party.

Stalin did nothing to rescue Browder from his exile. And, strikingly, Browder had been a staunch Stalinist all through his career.

"In past years I had no basis for blaming Stalin for the aberrations of Soviet policy," Browder said. "How was I to know whether they were caused by Stalin, Beria or Molotov?"

"At the same time," Browder added, "I never felt any bond of sympathy with him. I felt more comfortable the farther I was away from him."

Throughout his years as a Party leader, Browder never made it a point to speak out against Communist espionage activity in the U. S.

"I had no contact with that," he said. "That was in a different world. I assume that there was such a problem here, just as there was something to the spy scare in the Soviet Union. I think in both cases it was grossly exaggerated and was made into a weapon of intimidation."

And did he ever feel that things were amiss in Russia during the purges of the 1930s? He did not denounce them.

"From 1934 on, I felt that something was seriously wrong in the Soviet Union," he said. "But I was able to ascribe it to the Hitler threat. Only after World War II was won (and Hitler was dead) was it clear to me that this was not an explanation."

GREAT NUMBERS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISTS abandoned the party when Russia, after years of anti-Nazi talk, signed its non-aggression pact with Germany in August, 1939.

When World War II began a month later, Browder—who had so long been advocating U. S. cooperation with the Soviets against the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis—smoothly shifted into the line that it was an "imperialistic" war and the U. S. should stay out of it. This line lasted until Germany attacked Russia in 1941.

"This was no big problem with me—no moral issue," Browder says now. "Substantially, what it was was a

retreat to a position in international relations occupied by the U. S.—a public policy of 'hands off.'

"Most Communists who were shocked by the 1939 pact were those who thought the Soviet Union was going to save the world alone. I was never such a one."

In 1940 Browder went back to prison for a year, this time to the Atlanta Penitentiary. He was sent there for using false passports in years past.

After his release, with the United States' entry into the war, the party in this country reached its highest point, Browder said the peak—both in esprit and number—came in 1944.

But then came 1945 and Jacques Duclos' condemnation of Browder in the French Communist press. The Daily Worker quickly picked up the anti-Browder chant, denouncing his and the Worker's own wartime years of talk about "class peace."

Browder was stripped of his title in June, 1945, and was officially expelled from the party in February, 1946.

* * *

IN THE SPRING OF 1946 BROWDER WENT TO MOSCOW in an attempt to recoup.

"I was very well received there and was given every formal courtesy," he said, "but no one there was willing to discuss things with me on a political basis."

Browder claims he made no attempt to see Stalin, but he said he did have a cozy and unproductive chat with Molotov.

"I got only one definite piece of information from him," said Browder. "I asked Molotov if the Comintern was going to be reestablished, and he said: 'No.' I talked and talked. The rest of what he said was: 'Very interest-

ing. Continue, please.' 'Nobody had views any more.'"

The years since he was booted out of the Party have not been altogether tranquil.

He worked for a time as an agent selling Soviet books in the United States. He sold very few and the job disappeared in 1949.

Congressional committees have harried him for testimony. He once was cited for contempt in refusing to answer questions from the McCarthy committee, but was cleared of the charge in 1951.

In 1952 Browder and his Russian-born wife, Raissa, were indicted on perjury charges for allegedly lying on a passport application. Mrs. Browder died in January, 1955. The charge is still pending against Browder.

BROWDER'S GREATEST PERSONAL PRIDE HAS

come from his three sons, William, Felix and Andrew. All have made fine records in fields far from the political jungle. Felix won awards for scholarship from the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution when in high school, and recently has been a mathematics teacher at Brandeis University.

For almost five years after his expulsion from the party, Browder voiced no criticism of the Soviet Union. But then, in 1950, he did at least refuse to take the Communist side in the Korean War.

And several months later he vigorously denounced the persecution of Jewish doctors in Russia as an "outburst of anti-Semitism."

But by then his influence was so non-existent that his words had no significance.

In recent months, Browder has been earning his living by acting as a consultant to scholars in research for a series of books on the history of communism in America. A flurry of controversy was created when it was disclosed that the Fund for the Republic was giving

him a small stipend for help in such a research project. When he feels the urge, he works on his own memoirs.

"But I don't have an urgent sense of mission now," he said. "One thing that has held me back (in the work on his memoirs) is the feeling that it can't have publicity in this bedevilled period without becoming a political football."

Browder said it was a pleasure to write without a deadline.

"Yet it's difficult to adjust to a life without pressure," he said. "I've lived under pressure all my life."

Does he feel that the new public positions taken by the Communists in Russia and the U. S. have vindicated him?

Browder said the question was beside the point. "I was never interested in personal vindication. I've never had personal ambition. I feel that my whole life is a moral accumulation of the ability to stand alone."

"In the past 11 years I have never refused to see and talk to anyone. But I have never hunted anyone up."

The man from Kansas who used to shout out for "the masses" and hear the roars from crowds of thousands now spends most of his time alone in his Yonkers apartment.

But I'm never alone when I'm with my books," he said. "And I don't trust crowds. The crowd is the most unstable thing in life. In a crowd is where I feel loneliness."



Post Photo by Calyacca

Will the ex-boss of the U. S. Communists make a new political move?

BROWDER, EARL

General Secretary, CP-USA, knew 1927 - 1939
personally. GUSS made speeches
from same platform with BROWDER.
Member of FOSTER group. Political
leader of Party.

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98 OCT 10 1956

71 OCT 16 1956

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December 17, 1956

MR. NICHOLS:

[redacted]
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Mr. Tolson	
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Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	b6
Mr. Trotter	b7C
Mr. Nease	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Karl Baarslag called 12-13-56 and advised me that the HCUA plans to subpoena Earl Browder, Theodore Draper, Richard Rovere, and Michael Harrington in early January. Karl thought there might be some questions we might want the Committee to ask these individuals which in turn could possibly be of interest to us in our investigations.

I told Karl we appreciated his thought and I would be in touch with him in the event we wanted to take him up on his offer. He specifically stated that he was not asking for any assistance concerning the background of the individuals in question inasmuch as the Committee had considerable information already at hand.

You will recall that we did an earlier summary on Michael Harrington when the "black-listing report" was put out by the Fund for the Republic. Baarslag knows Harrington's background thoroughly, of course, but there might be some additional thoughts along the lines of questioning which I should provide Baarslag with on a confidential and informal basis.

No

Respectfully,

C. D. DeLoach

CDD:jmr
(2)

18 JAN 3 1957

SENT DIRECTOR
12/18/56

CRIME REC

ORIGINAL FILED IN

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)
SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C; PERJURY

DATE: 9/10/56

Re O-1 form dated 9/6/56 requesting status of prosecution.

AUSA, SDNY, THOMAS A. BOLAN advised SA JAMES E. HANLON on 9/10/56 that he has submitted the results of interviews with prospective witnesses in the above-captioned case to the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., and is presently awaiting a decision from the Department concerning prosecutive action.

- 2 - Bureau (40-3798)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-25693)

5/26/99

RECORDED-37

40-3798-735

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b7C

JEH:bht
(3)

33 SEP 18 1956